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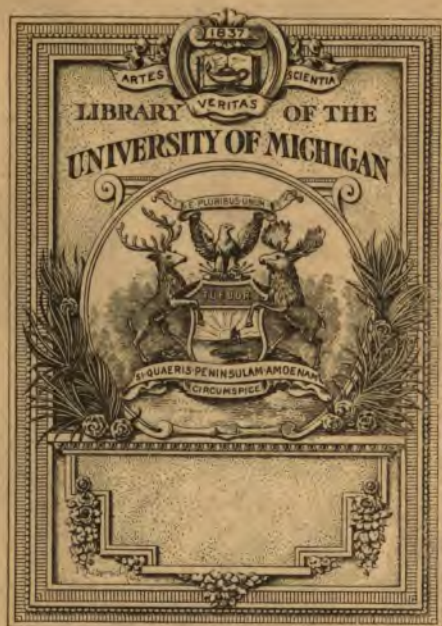
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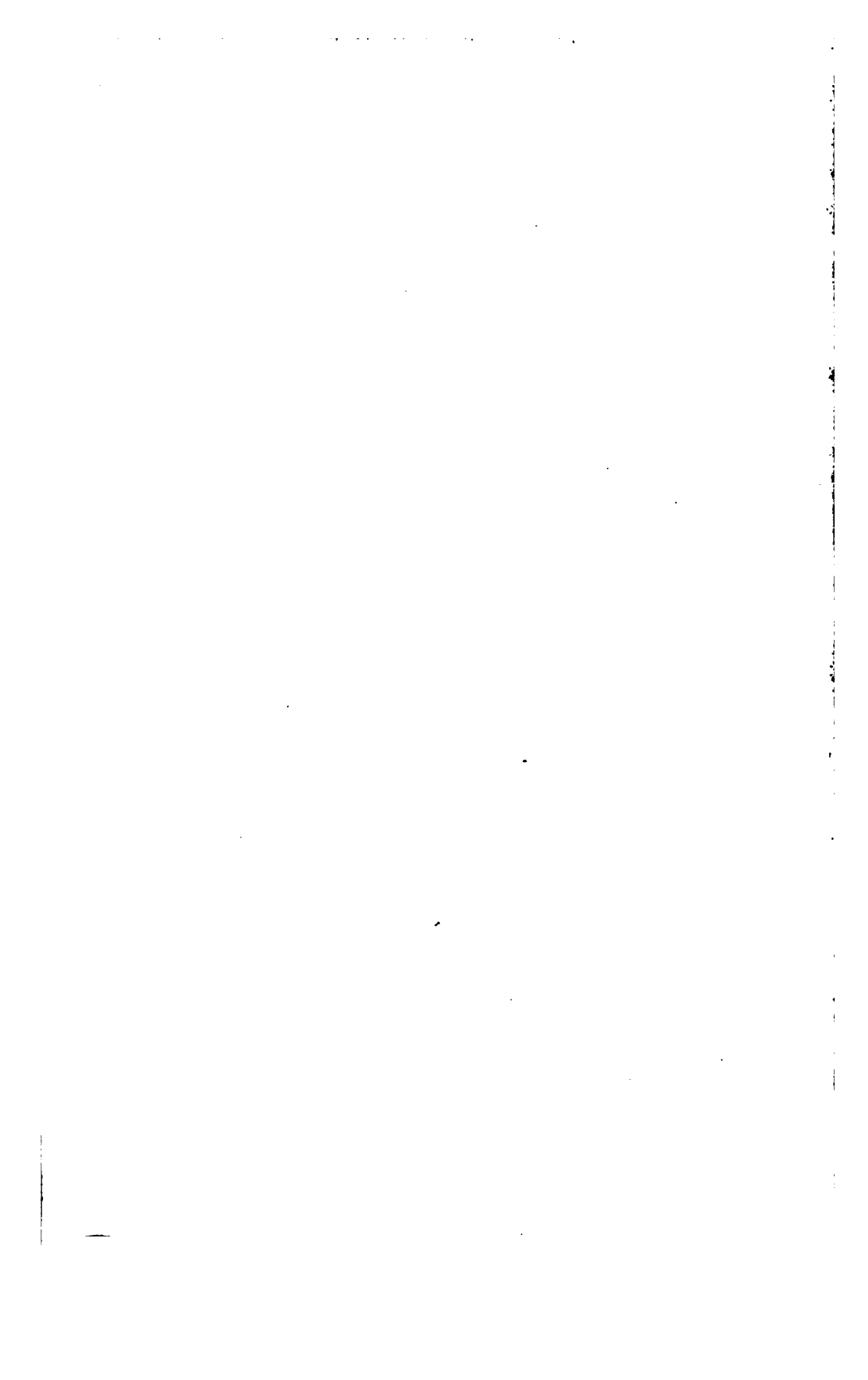
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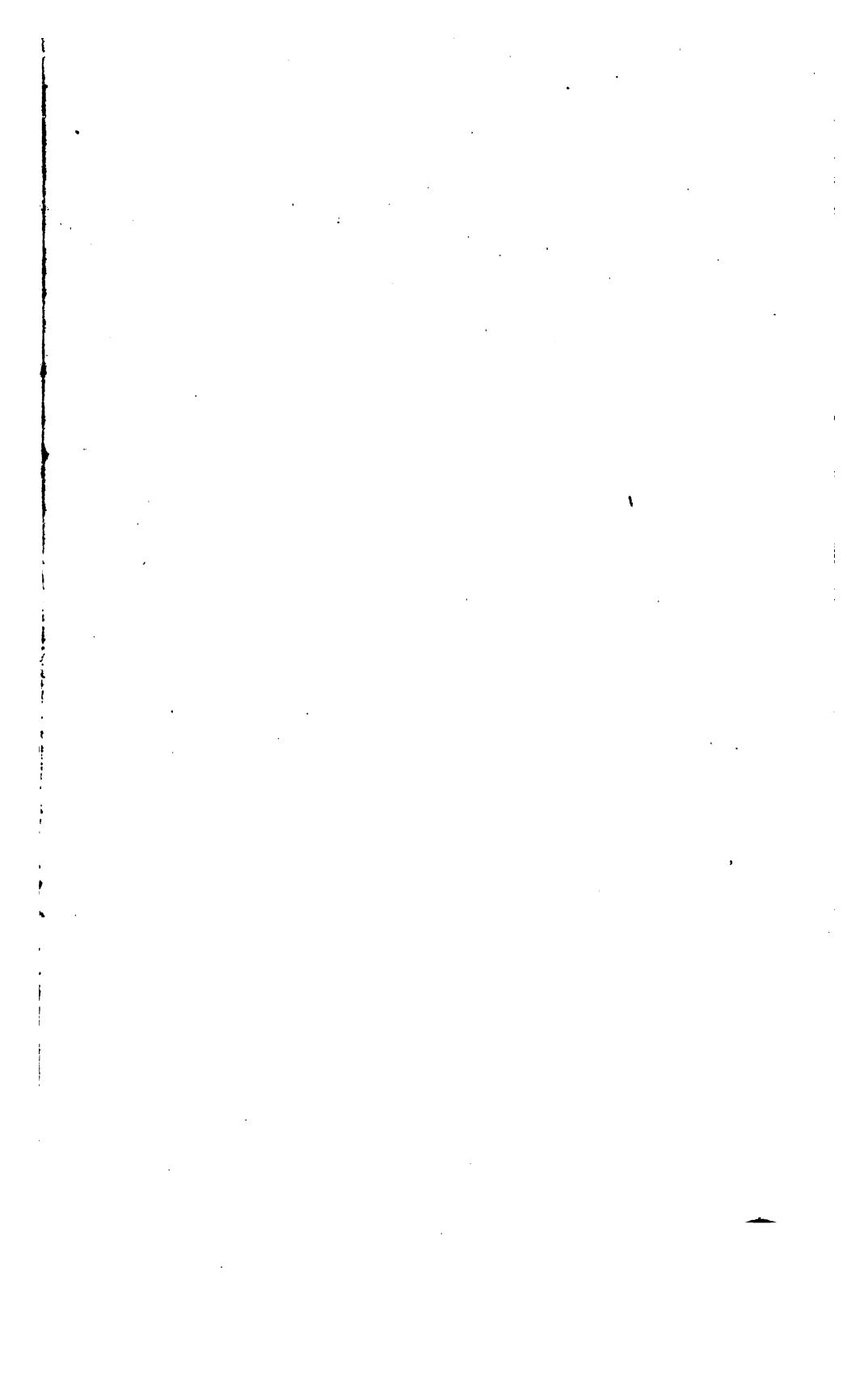
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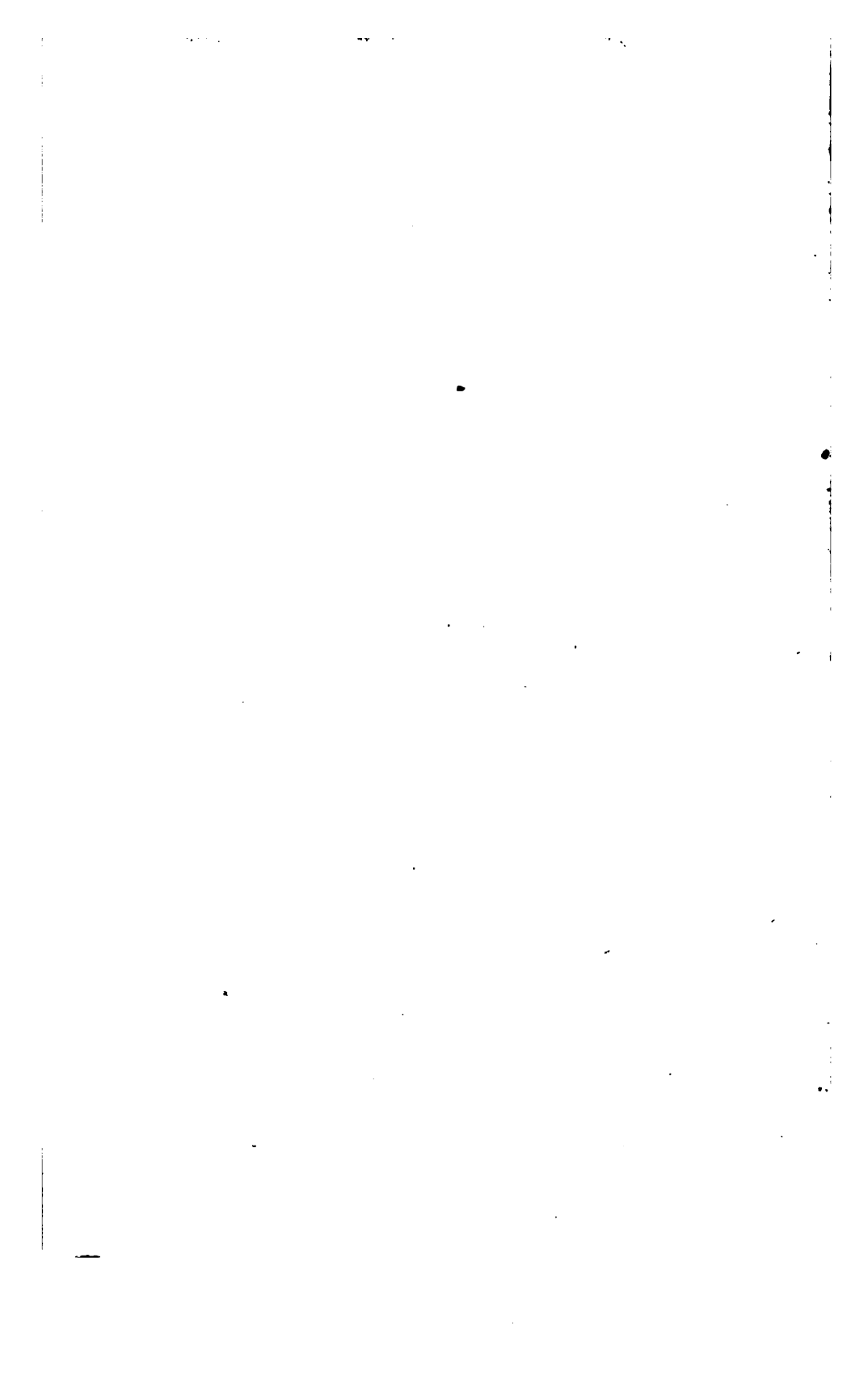
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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N^o. XLVI.

NEW SERIES — N^o. XVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1831.

ART. I. — *The Library of the Old English Prose Writers.*
Vol. I. Containing *The Holy and Profane States*, by
THOMAS FULLER; with some Account of the Author
and his Writings. 16mo. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown.
1831.

It has been the fate of old books, like most other old things, to be the subjects of unreasonable extremes of opinion. The judgments passed on times long since gone by appear, for the most part, to have leaned strongly either to indiscriminate and weak admiration, or to flippant contempt without examination. On the one hand, antiquity has been exalted at the expense of truth and justice. Many will allow nothing to be good, unless it be old; no modes of thinking to be sound, but such as have the sanction of more than one century at least; and no virtues to be of very high desert, but those which have been practised by the men of other days. Even truth, it has been thought, is to be decided by the authority of dates; and those, who cannot plead for their opinions the defence of times grown grey with age, have been told that their cause is not worthy to be heard. On the other hand, partly from disgust at these absurdities, partly from habits of hasty and superficial thinking, some have resorted to the opposite extreme. Considering antiquity as synonymous with error and weakness, they are disposed utterly to disparage the characters and the doings of the fathers. They look back upon their records

as the memorials of a generation, which we have left far behind in the career of excellence. Something like the condescension of pity is mingled with every view of their moral and intellectual qualities; their faults are exaggerated, or placed in strong lights; their virtues are depreciated, or overlooked; their views on all great subjects are described in the mass as encumbered with the narrowness and imperfection of their age; and their customs are mentioned only to excite the smile of self-complacent superiority, as if all that differs from present habits must of course be irrational or ludicrous. Thus, by ever running wide of the mark of impartiality, we neutralize or render useless whatever degree of justness our opinions may chance to possess.

To find a similar want of fairness and sobriety in estimating the literature of different periods, we need not take up the comparison between the times of classic antiquity and the present day. It may be seen in the treatment, which the productions of the fathers of English literature have received at the hands of their successors. If their station be computed according to the large scale of the world's ages, they are moderns. But they are in some sense ancients to us; for so rapidly do the generations of men pass away, and with them their tastes and forms of mental developement, that even two or three hundred years constitute what may be called antiquity, and give us occasion to speak of modes of writing and of thought extremely diverse from our own. That excessive admiration of the old writers, as such, which is sometimes carried to a degree of superstition scarcely inferior to the respect paid by the pagans to their deified heroes, is almost wholly confined to England. The black-letter mania is a passion, which, in its highest and most amusing forms at least, may be said to be quite unknown in this country. Even if we had the means of stimulating and gratifying it, — as we have not, — yet such are the character and circumstances of our community, that it would be long before such men as Ritson, Sir Egerton Brydges, and Dibdin would be produced among us, — long before we should have that class of fantastic devotees to time-hallowed paper and print, who will talk with all the fondness of true lovers of 'the good old books descended to us, whose backs and sides our careful grandsires buffed, and bossed, and boarded against the teeth of time, or more devouring ignorance, and whose leaves they guarded with brass,

may silver clasps, against the assaults of worm and weather.* The bibliomaniac is a character, for whom our young and bustling nation scarcely affords a place; and the shafts of satire, which have so often been aimed at his pursuits in the mother country, would here be wasted on the empty air. The joy of possessing the only known copy of a volume, in pursuit of which the anxious diligence of all other antiquarians has been at fault, and which would lose its value if its fellow could be found, is a pleasure we have not learned to taste or reverence. Engrossed, as we are, in the topics of the day or the year, and devoted to the useful and the practical, we read with a smile of contempt, or with a look of wonder, the accounts of book sales in the English metropolis, at which noblemen and scholars, in the eager competition of the auction-room, add guineas to guineas and pounds to pounds for some antique poem of a few leaves, or some thin duodecimo *extremely rare*, as the catalogues say; nor is it for us to understand the heartach of unsuccessful rivals, when the fall of the fate-deciding hammer shuts out hope, and appropriates irrecoverably the coveted treasure.

With trifling such as this we may well be content to dispense; though it would not be difficult to show, that this literary extravagance, like some other forms of extravagance, has its uses, and that while the waste labors of such enthusiasm are harmless, and soon forgotten, there may be circumstances under which its services are not unimportant to the interests of letters. But we would protest against the follies of the literary antiquarian being permitted to bring discredit on a good cause. There is a manly, healthful, and invigorating taste for the old masters of English literature and theology, which we deem valuable as a source of mental discipline and power, and which we think has not been sufficiently cultivated among us. They should be loved and studied, not merely because they belong to past generations, but on account of real excellencies,—not because time has cast a reverend appearance over their large volumes, but because these volumes contain a great deal to enrich, strengthen, and kindle the mind. In England this venerable class of writers seem to have grown into much favor within a few years, if we may judge from the new editions of their works, or the reprints of

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. iv. p. 108.

separate portions of them, which have frequently appeared, and from the comments, illustrations, and critical notices, to which they have given occasion. This, we are aware, is no unerring index of the public taste; for it doubtless happens to these authors, as it has to many others, to be more praised than read. The commendation bestowed on the illustrious dead is not always a proof, that their spirit has been sought or imbibed. Probably the cases are not few in literature like that of Reynolds in his art, who, we are told, exhorted his pupils with unceasing earnestness, as his first and last charge to them, to study and imitate the works of the old masters of painting continually, while he himself devoted his great powers to a more gainful and an easier department of the art, in which, it is thought, few traces are to be found of any important influence derived from his admiration of the antique school. But whether the love of ancient English literature has become, or will become, a popular taste or not, it is nevertheless true, that some of the best British writers of modern times have drunk deeply from these fountains. It has been common to ascribe some of the vices of Johnson's style to his partiality for the works of Sir Thomas Browne; but, if the charge be not without foundation, may we not also trace to the same source some of the better qualities in his manner of writing, his energy and completeness of expression, his forceful words, and strong though stately sentences? Malone affirms that the works of Burke bear testimony to the good influence derived from the very high admiration, which he always avowed for the prose writings of Dryden, who, though he does not, strictly speaking, belong to the class of old English authors, may be regarded as nearly the last, who caught their spirit and power, before the altered tone which literature received from the wits of Anne's reign.

If it were only for the assistance rendered by the old writers in enabling us to fill up the outline of the picture of their times, we should regard them as amply worthy of a familiar acquaintance on the part of the curious inquirer. It is surely no small help to the diligent observer of man, to have the features of any period preserved, not in set descriptions, — for these may be liable to suspicion, — but in the undesigned developements, which occur in the lines traced by the busy and strong minds of the time. The narrative of the historian, even in its most interesting and faithful form, affords but

an imperfect, and comparatively faint conception of the peculiarities of an age. We are placed at a distance from the scene, and look on with somewhat of the coldness of a remote spectator. The historian seems to stand between us and what he describes, acting the part of a third person, who gives us the forms of things in the shape and color they have taken in passing through his own mind, perhaps in obedience to some favorite theory. It is better than a gratification of curiosity, — it is one of the best aids to the philosophical study of man, — to be able by any means to transplant ourselves into the midst of a past age, so as to have a fresh and distinct apprehension of the interests and characters belonging to it, a feeling of reality and acquaintance with regard to its pursuits and predominant traits. This desirable sort of knowledge is to be acquired mainly by the study of those authors who wrote, as it were, on the spot, and in the quaint but interesting style of familiarity with the events and the men of their day. They give us the fashions of thought and the forms of speculation, the prejudices and improvements, the weaknesses and the strong points, the intellectual, moral, and religious advancement or backsliding of their period, in short, 'the form and pressure' of the times; and we thence learn more satisfactorily, than from any other source, the place and value which are to be assigned to their century in a philosophical survey of man's progress. The volumes of ancient date help us to recover and to keep bright those impressions, which in the course of time were fading away in the indistinctness of general views. By means of them we preserve the animating touches of reality, which imagination tells us we should find, if we could summon the men of those days from the slumber of the tomb, and by personal acquaintance gather their opinions and treasure up the information they would have to bestow. History dwells so much, sometimes so exclusively, on the outward and showy doings of a community; it describes a battle so much more frequently and better, than an intellectual movement, that we feel the want of some insight deeper and more true to reality, than it commonly undertakes to afford; and this want will doubtless be best supplied from the sources we have indicated.

But a large proportion of these writers have a strong claim upon our attention for other reasons. We think that in their volumes are to be found some of the richest treasures of

thought and wisdom, some of the most beautiful and splendid imagery, some of the happiest illustrations, and some of the most acute and profound exhibitions of argumentative power, which our language affords. They wrote with a fulness of intellect, a complete mastery of their subject, not often found in modern literature. They seem to have grown up under a discipline adapted to make their minds large and robust; and they unburthened them on whatever topic with a prodigal abundance, which is frequently indeed wearisome, and sometimes runs riot in repulsive extravagance, but which is the source of a power and excellence scarcely witnessed since their day. When they address the reader, they seem to take the chair of instruction like those, who feel that they are worthy to sit there; and we are at once conscious of being in the presence of minds, that are to be treated with no common reverence. Their plentiful stores of learning were not accumulated in vain; and, if not poured forth with sufficient moderation and good judgment, were used with effect when they had a speculation to pursue, a duty to enforce, a truth to teach, or a point to illustrate. They were not, as we are apt to suppose, a tribe of heavy scholars, "dreaming away their years in the arms of studious retirement, like Endymion with the moon, as the tale of Latmus goes," but for the most part, if not personally actors in busy or agitating scenes, they stood in no idle connexion with such scenes; and amidst the trials and exigencies of their time, they held not their scholarship as lazy possessors, but as efficient workmen. We know that in stating their merits, there has been occasionally a species of heedless exaggeration. It was once said, and has been often repeated, with regard to the old writers, especially the old divines, that 'there were giants on the earth in those days,' — intellectual heroes of large forms and noble bearing, who have passed away from the world, — that such men are now no more, and that they have left their productions to be the study of a degenerate race, who must regard them as the naturalist regards the discovered remains of a class of animals now extinct. In all this there is unquestionably much extravagance, much of that silly affectation, which thinks it looks like wisdom to disparage the present or the near, and to observe no measure in extolling the past or the distant. Still we maintain, that in ranging over the literary and intellectual efforts of man, we shall not often find in the whole

compass of the survey better stores of well ripened wisdom, nor strike upon more precious veins of manly, nervous, far-reaching thought, than among the English ancients. Their labors have certainly furnished to many of a later day ample materials or helps; their gold has been beaten out into less ponderous forms; the treasure, which they cast forth, has been taken up, and moulded into diverse shapes according to the wants or the fashion of the times, or analyzed that the art of producing new treasures may be learned. Can any one read the 'Defence of Poesy,' in which imagination, fine thought, and learning are wrought into such beautiful and chivalrous forms by Sidney, 'warbler of poetic prose,' as Cowper calls him, or the 'Hydriotaphia,' the 'Religio Medici,' or the 'Christian Morals' of Sir Thomas Browne, over whose wisdom a rich and mellow coloring is spread, imparting to it an effect like that of fine old paintings; or the 'Essays' of Lord Bacon, whose marvellous genius has left the print of its mighty grasp in practical morals, as well as in the new creation of science; or the 'Areopagitica' of Milton, that noble production of a lofty and most affluent mind; can any one, we ask, read such works as these — not to mention a long list of others which might be adduced, — and then say, that there is not a spirit there, with which it is worth while to go apart and hold communion? Is there not something there, with which our minds may be nourished and built up? Is the voice, which sounds forth from these distant places of English intellect, to be unheeded, because it speaks in a tone different from any we hear among our contemporaries? Shall the forms of departed great ones be despised, because their garb is in a fashion different from our own? While we are busy with picking up such treasures, as may be had on the surface of the ground, shall we not do well to remember, that there are mines beneath, the ore of which, if it should cost us some labor, will richly repay us for our trouble? We cannot but think, that the lover of English literature and of mental greatness should regard these old masters, as the ancient Romans are said to have regarded the family images of their distinguished fathers, arranged in the order of time around the halls of their dwellings, presenting at once venerable memorials and stimulating examples.

We rate the value of these authors high on another account. They present an exhibition of one of the forms, through which

English style has passed; and for that reason they deserve and will reward the careful attention of the student of literature. The power of our language, as an instrument for the expression of profound thought and lofty imagination, cannot be known in all its fulness without an acquaintance with the writers from the time of Elizabeth to the Restoration. We do not mean simply, that in them is to be found by far the best and most truly significant part of our vocabulary; but that in the combination of words, and in the general structure of style, they exhibit the raciness and vigor of the language in a manner almost unknown during the period, when the French taste in various forms was infused into English literature, and when the leading tendency was to consider excellence in writing as nearly synonymous with cold correctness and feeble neatness. The authors of an earlier age were not afraid to be energetic, though at the risk of the kindred faults. They took not hold of the language, as they would of an instrument which they were too timid to wield with strength, but as one which they would have perform its office with power and effect. We are aware of the objection so often made, that their sentences are long, harsh, and obscure; that there is in their compositions a tedious and elaborate amplitude, which makes us glad to lay down their works; and that if we take them up again, it is from a sense of duty, perhaps, or for some special purpose, not from the expectation of pleasure. With respect to some of them there is doubtless no inconsiderable truth in this criticism, though it gives but one side of the case. The reading of not a few of their writings is a task, and a heavy task too. In their time, the faulty taste, which sprung up with the revival of letters, and accompanied its progress, had not ceased to exert a very considerable influence. We mean the taste for pedantic display, for overloading every subject with learned allusions or illustrations, as if it were impossible to crowd into their pages too much of the newly found erudition, of which they were so enamoured. Erasmus only expressed strongly a feeling, which was common among scholars, when he declared in one of his epistles, that 'as soon as he could get money, he would purchase first Greek authors, and secondly clothes.' This zeal, which now, perhaps, appears simply amusing, was, however, more than pardonable; it was honorable at a time when the beauties of the ancient world were bursting upon the eyes

of men, after the shades of night had rested over them so long, like some fine piece of sculpture, that has for ages been buried in the ruins of a convulsion of nature, and is at last restored as it came from the hands of the artist. It was to be expected, however, that such a state of things should lead, as it did, to no little extravagance, and that it would require some time to establish the proper distinction between a blind idolatry and a just admiration of the ancients. The faults, which grew out of this literary revolution, extended their infection among the English authors, at least down to the reign of Anne, and appeared in various shapes, especially in the pedantic and cumbrous manner of writing, which has been made the subject of much censure, and of some ridicule.* But with respect to a large portion of these authors, this censure has been pressed quite too far; and meanwhile, their rich significance and peculiar strength of style have been left out of the account. Notwithstanding the faults, to which we have adverted as having sprung from an ill directed partiality for ancient learning, it is still true that the Saxon part of our language was in great favor with these writers, and that for the most part their diction savours strongly of an attachment to its expressive and beautiful peculiarities. After making all the allowances, which may be claimed, we yet maintain that he, who would obtain full possession of the treasures of the English tongue, and understand all its expressiveness, must form and retain a familiar acquaintance with the authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In all of them he may find much that is uncouth and overstrained, and in some he may be offended with those conceits and false ornaments, which Shaftesbury calls 'the hobby-horse and rattle of the Muses;' but, if his reading be selected with a tolerably judicious choice, he cannot fail to imbibe a relish for that manly and hearty style, which, with all its faults, is a far bet-

* It would seem from the following amusing and caustic remarks in Wilson's 'Art of Rhetorick,' published in 1553, that pedantry in the use of language was considered then, as now, rather the fault of smattering pretenders than of true scholars;— 'The unlearned or foolish fantastical, that smells but of learning (such fellows as have seen learned men in their day) will so Latin their tongues, that the simple cannot but wonder at their talk, and think surely they speak by some revelation. I know them that think rhetorick to stand wholly on dark words; and he that can catch an inkhorn term by the tail, him they count to be a fine Englishman, and a good rhetorician.'

ter model than the insipid and well-trimmed accuracy of refinement, falsely so called.

The distinctive merits of the theological writers belonging to the period, of which we speak, have been so often and so well discussed, that they may be considered, we suppose, as pretty fairly understood. The keen and sometimes exasperating excitement in ecclesiastical affairs, which prevailed in England with little intermission during at least three successive reigns, and the times of the Commonwealth, gave a peculiar cast to the character and writings of the clergy. They were distinguished by the restless and earnest spirit, which was the natural result of the conviction, that interests of a most stirring nature were at stake. They were thrown upon a crisis of affairs, when religion and politics pressed upon them many stimulating topics of inquiry and controversy. The elements of revolution, which had been put in motion by the Reformation, were then quick and plentiful in the land; and the results, into which they would finally settle, were not as yet ascertained. It was not simply the striving of sect against sect, but a contest in which the ecclesiastical and civil interests of a kingdom were involved; and the agitation was one which affected not local parties, but a whole community. There was a time when Queen Elizabeth, by a proclamation, prohibited, or attempted to prohibit, preaching,—for the sake, as she said, of promoting peace, godliness, and charity.* At such a period, the clergy would not be likely to fall into the dulness of men well at ease. Even the prelates could not slumber in the sunshine of the church; and as for the Puritans, they counted it their lot and portion to fight what they believed to be the good fight of faith. The natural result of such a state of things may be seen in that spirit of fervor and earnestness, which breathes through the writings of most of the old divines, and extends to other topics besides those which were more immediately in controversy; for moral warmth is in its nature so expansive, that it spreads its influence in a greater or less degree over all our views and our habits of thought, and he, whose mind has been habitually accustomed to excitement in one direction, will be likely to carry with him a kindred spirit into other subjects. That the leading theologians of those days were men of great erudition,

* Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. i. Appendix.

will not, probably, be denied. Perhaps they had too much of it; or rather, perhaps they knew not always how to prevent it from becoming oppressive to the intellect. They would, doubtless, have thought it quite beneath the dignity of their large scholarship to be satisfied with the standard, which Bishop Atterbury established for himself, when he said, 'I sometimes know where learning is, and how to make use of it, when I want it;' but this is probably all, that many of the most efficient and successful scholars in the world have known.

There is, moreover, a much greater amount of noble views and of true liberality among the old divines, than is commonly supposed. In the works of John Hales, of Jeremy Taylor (especially 'The Liberty of Prophesying'), of Baxter, and others, we are refreshed and delighted with generous and hearty vindications of enlightened piety, religious independence, and Christian charity. No men have seen more clearly, or said more plainly, that there is nothing narrow, dark, or exclusive in the character and requisitions of the Gospel. Most of the fathers of English theology had minds full fraught on the subject of religion; and some of them sounded the depths of the human soul, with reference to this its most sacred interest, in the spirit of the true science of sanctity. They redeemed from captivity great truths, which had been long shut up under the reign of scholastic and monkish power. The philosophy of man's spiritual nature, as affected by religious culture, has seldom been better understood than by these men. They looked into the principles of that higher life in the soul, which sometimes appears only in faint struggles, and sometimes flashes forth in strong motions towards the Great Source whence it came. They knew that there is a wisdom leading to God, better than all the wisdom of the schools, and that it belongs to the life-giving efficacy of divine truth to mature this wisdom, by exalting the soul and representing it as that on which God has written his name and stamped his image. They felt and set forth the great truth, that when we regard our moral nature as we ought, we shall find there, so to speak, a Urim and Thummim, which it wears as a breast-plate, and by which we may ask counsel of God. No man of religious feeling can read some of the writings of Henry More, or the Select Discourses of John Smith, without being impressed with the conviction that he is holding intercourse with minds,

that had singularly elevated views of the spiritual relations and the spiritual bearings of man. Their sermons were, according to the fashion of the times, very long, and consequently they may be found to have dilated where compression would have been better; but many of their discourses are storehouses of lofty thoughts and admirable illustrations. 'It is my full conviction,' says Coleridge, 'that in any half dozen sermons of Dr. Donne, or Jeremy Taylor, there are more thoughts, more facts and images, more excitements to inquiry and intellectual effort, than are presented to the congregations of the present day in as many churches or meetings during twice as many months. Yet both these were the most popular preachers of their times, were heard with enthusiasm by crowded and promiscuous audiences, and the effect produced by their eloquence was held in reverential and affectionate remembrance by many attendants on their ministry, who, like the pious Isaac Walton, were not themselves men of learning or education.'

The most prevalent faults of the old English authors, considered as a class, are the faults of overdoing. The *ne quid nimis* was a precept, to which they paid but little respect. No fear of making too large demands on the patience of the reader was before their eyes. Their object too often seems to have been to say all that could be said, rather than to select what was best to be said. If a point was to be illustrated from history, or by literary authorities, they were so prodigal in the use of their resources, that the point itself was sometimes lost under the load of quotations heaped upon it. If a subject was to be analyzed, and separated into its parts, their definitions and distinctions were likely to be multiplied and refined, till they became almost evanescent, or till it required a greater effort of attention to follow the process, than to comprehend the subject proposed, or to solve the difficulty started. Argument was frequently expanded, and pushed to the utmost limits of application, till it ceased to produce the conviction, which it would, had it been used with cautious precision, or with more concentrated strength. And wit was pursued with so much perverse ingenuity, and through such artificial connexions of thought, that the flavor of the Attic salt, which might at first have belonged to it, often evaporated during the operation. Some of the prose writers of old must certainly be included in the censure so commonly passed on what

Johnson, rather inaptly, calls the metaphysical school of poetry, who toiled for conceits, and deemed themselves successful only when they had put forth each thought or fancy in some startling or grotesque form, and who cared little how whimsical or extravagant were the combinations of ideas and of language they produced, so they were but ingenious and strange. Good taste, at least in the sense commonly assigned to that expression, was certainly not the characteristic of the period as a whole, in any department of writing. That vicious manner, which is the obvious result of an indiscriminate application of erudition, and of excessive amplification in the management of a subject, was so much in accordance with the taste of the age, that it seems to have been deemed an excellence, of which an author did well to be ambitious. Hence that strange union of gross faults and inimitable beauties, which may so frequently be observed in the same writer. Hence the combination, side by side, of coarse and offensive illustrations with the loftiest conceptions and the finest out-breaks of imagination.

It is for reasons like these, we suppose, that the productions of the fathers of English literature and theology, venerable and admirable as they are on the whole, have gained in modern times so little comparatively of the attention, which they well deserve, and that the complaint has been so often repeated of the wearisome and uninviting labor of searching into their treasures. A great majority of intelligent and well educated readers are probably willing to consign these volumes to the curious antiquary, who has sufficient zeal to endure the task of studying them, while they are content to draw their mental resources from the neater and more compact volumes of recent times. The books of these instructors of past centuries are thought by many to be as ill adapted to the taste and wants of the present day, as the armour and trappings worn by the ancient knights, the lance, the shield, and the coat of mail, would be to the improved warfare of modern times. They would as soon think, perhaps, of introducing into their apartments the bulky and ponderous chairs, the heavy oaken tables, and in general the cumbrous furniture of their fathers, as of placing on their book shelves the large, dark, and formidable volumes, in which are deposited the learning, the wit, or the reasoning, that seems to them to have had its day, and to have passed into oblivion.

We know not how the injustice thus done to these writers, arising partly from an impatience of their somewhat obtrusive and vexatious faults, can be better remedied, than by well chosen selections from their works, accompanied with interesting sketches of their lives and times. For this reason, as well as on other accounts, we welcome with much satisfaction the volume which has given occasion to our remarks. It is the first in a series intended to constitute a Library of the old English prose writers, set forth in the convenient and attractive form required by the taste of the times. Should the work be encouraged, as it ought to be, and as we trust it will be, the editor intends to proceed with the publication of extracts and selections, embracing the most interesting portions and exhibiting some of the finest specimens of 'the patriarchs of our early literature,' with occasional explanatory notes, and with such accounts of these worthies and their writings, as can be given in a compendious form. We think that the editor, the Rev. Mr. Young, will render a valuable and thank-worthy service to the community in fulfilling this excellent design; and we have entire confidence in the skill, judgment, and good taste, with which the work will be conducted. We hope that a series of volumes, like the neat and beautiful one now before us, will do much to bring into general favor a class of writers, who ought to be had in everlasting remembrance, but who now are in the hands of very few readers among us. We know it is sometimes said, that the rarity of a book is sufficient evidence against it; for, if it were good for anything, it would not be rare. This remark, in some of the applications of which it is susceptible, is entirely correct; but when made with reference to such authors as are embraced in the work before us, however pointed it may appear, it is altogether untrue. The list given by Mr. Young of those, from whom he purposes to make his selections, includes names that have long been venerable and dear to every one, who loves to commune with exalted and strong minds. There are some, whom we could wish to add to the list. We will mention only Ben Jonson's 'Discoveries,' and 'The Parable of the Pilgrim' by Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and well known as a commentator on the Scriptures. Of this last mentioned work there are portions, which, for their beauty and good sense, well deserve to be republished. It is, we suspect, almost wholly unknown in this country, and even in England has attracted

much less attention than might have been expected. It was published about the same time with the far-famed 'Pilgrim's Progress,' to which in the general plan and purpose it bears some resemblance. But, though greatly inferior to Bunyan's work in ingenuity and attractiveness of narrative, it is very decisively superior in compass of thought, and in the higher qualities of taste and judgment.

The first volume in the proposed work, to which we have called the attention of our readers, consists of selections from 'The Holy State' and 'The Profane State' of Fuller. This is a good beginning; for it would not be easy to find a better specimen of pleasant and acute wisdom, than is here presented. Fuller is an old and highly esteemed favorite with all, whose reading has been much among the writers of that period. He should be more generally known, and his good things should have a wider circulation; for there are many parts of his works better adapted, perhaps, than those of any other theologian of his age to take the character of popular reading. He lived in times full of perils and sharp trials, especially to the clergy; and his reputation, though not his personal welfare, passed uninjured through them all. He was never a warm partisan; but it could not be said of him, that he 'was so supple that he brake not a joint in all the alterations of the times.' During the agitating period embraced by the reign of Charles the First and the Commonwealth, Fuller adhered firmly to the royal cause; and notwithstanding his moderate and conciliatory views, he shared the obloquy and disaster, which were the natural consequence of attachment to a defeated party. At the Restoration he was in favor at court, and would have been rewarded with a bishopric, had it not been prevented by his death, which happened in August, 1661. He took no part in the heated religious disputes of his day, and appears somewhat studiously to have avoided polemical theology, thinking perhaps that, as he himself has said, it is 'ill dancing for nimble wits on the precipices of dangerous doctrines,' or that he might spend his time more profitably for himself and others, than by plunging into a contest, in which there was so much to be blamed in all parties, while truth and candor were so little regarded by any. He has certainly rendered a better service to posterity, than if he had employed his powers on the question of the divine right of bishops, or on some other points which were then absorbing topics of controversy.

Fuller was regarded as an extraordinary man by his contemporaries; and the judgment has been and will be confirmed, the more he is known. That he had his share in the literary faults of his age, is not to be disputed; and they, who will judge his writings by no standard, but such as is applied at the present day, will doubtless find much to be offended with. But it would be gross injustice to deny his claim to great and distinguishing excellence. He possessed a capacious and vigorous mind, filled even to overflowing with the knowledge to be gained both from books and men, strong in its native powers, and kept bright by habits of keen and astute observation. His astonishing power of memory was, perhaps, never surpassed by that of any individual. His learning, large and various as its stores were, appears never to have overlaid his intellect, but to have been used, if not always necessarily, yet aptly and for purposes truly connected with the matter in hand, and not in that tasteless and diffuse manner, which marked the compositions of not a few among his contemporaries. As a reasoner, in the restricted sense of the word, he was not distinguished. His excellence consisted rather in that practical and sagacious turn of mind, which arrives at valuable results without going through the process of premises and inferences, and which spreads out the fruits of its meditations in sage and amusing remarks on life and on the springs of human character and passions. We know not where we should find a richer fund of this sort of entertaining wisdom, than is to be had in many of his pages.

The quality, which is usually thought to stand out in most striking relief in Fuller's works, is his untiring humor. This was indeed the ruling passion of his soul. He could say nothing without saying it, if possible, quaintly and facetiously. It seems to have been a lesson of self-denial, which he never learned, to pass by a jocose turn of thought or expression, and leave it unused. If there were two ways of stating a sentiment or giving a description, the one literal and grave, the other witty and allusive, he was pretty sure to choose the latter. Yet in this quality Fuller, though he surpassed some others, was far from being alone. We are accustomed to consider the divines of two centuries ago as grave, dignified, and stern men, whose countenances never relaxed into a smile, and who wrote and thought, as they are imagined to have lived and walked, only in the old-fashioned clerical state-

liness. Yet the fact is, that many of them indulged in a vein of humor, and sometimes broad humor too, in their preaching and writings, which would be altogether startling to 'the men of these degenerate days.' We wonder what an audience would think now, were they to hear such gibes and jests, as were not unfrequently uttered from English pulpits in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, the first and second Charles, and even at an earlier period. Whoever has read Latimer's sermons, must remember that he relates many a mirthful anecdote in them, and sometimes with the prefatory remark, that he is about to tell 'a merry toy.' The sermons of John Hales of Eton are not wanting in strokes of facetiousness, which might be deemed free enough for the pleasantry of familiar conversation. The raillery and wit of Eachard would not fail in comparison with those of Swift; and the unsparing sarcasms, and coarse, but pungent, ridicule of South are well known to all who have looked into his strange, yet valuable, discourses, which are the productions of a strong mind given up to the impulses of feelings at least equally strong. But the facetious qualities of Fuller, abundant as they were to a fault, were always good-natured and free from asperity, the spontaneous glee of a mind that had an irresistible propensity to disport itself in this sort of pastime. It was not sharp enough to answer to his own description of the wit of Erasmus, who, he says, 'was a badger in his jeers; where he did bite, he would make his teeth meet.' Calamy in his life of Howe, having mentioned the services which Howe rendered to several of the Royalists and Episcopalians, when they were brought before *the Tryers*, appointed in Cromwell's time to test their qualifications for the exercise of the ministry, relates the following characteristic anecdote of Fuller: 'Among the rest that apply'd to him for advice upon that occasion, the celebrated Dr. Thomas Fuller, who is well known by his punning writings, was one. That gentleman, who was generally upon the merry pin, being to take his turn before these Tryers, of whom he had a very formidable notion, thus accosted Mr. Howe, when he apply'd to him for advice: "Sir," said he, "you may observe I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait; I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through." He freely gave him his advice, and he promis'd to follow it; and when he appear'd before them, and they propos'd to him

the usual question — whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace upon his heart, — he gave this in for answer, that he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts that he made conscience of his very thoughts; with which answer they were satisfy'd, as indeed well they might.* One cannot but suspect that the Tryers were too glad to be well rid, at any rate, of a man like Fuller, not to grant him a dispensation on easy terms.

The various writings of Fuller possess very different degrees of interest for the modern reader. Some of them are elaborately wrought, and of formidable size; others would seem to have been thrown off without much effort, and because his pen could never bear to be idle. It may have happened in this, as in other cases, that what the author himself considered as of least price, has been found most extensively useful and acceptable. 'The Historie of the Holy Warre' is written in a manner at once vigorous and playful, abounding in shrewd and sound remarks, and exhibiting throughout no ordinary grasp of mind and reach of thought. The subject of the crusades has scarcely been treated with more ability by any subsequent author. With all its oddness and its antiquated diction, we read it with more satisfaction than we can the heavy and affected work of Mills. It contains not a few masterly descriptions of men and events, and we think the sketch of the character of Saladine scarcely falls behind the best delineations of Hume and Gibbon in spirit, discrimination, and graphical power. — In 'The Worthies of England,' Fuller has given a diffuse and rather minute account of the remarkable men and remarkable things in each of the several shires of England and Wales. He gathered the materials for this work with unwearied diligence from conversation and tradition, as well as from books. A large part of the information, which it embodies, is too local to be interesting at the present day, at least in this country, and it contains not a little of tedious trifling; but it is a valuable old volume for the great mass of curious facts, and of shrewd and amusing remarks, which it presents.* Both this work, and the

* Among the curious items in this ancient folio, in the account of Rutlandshire is the story of the dwarf, of whom Walter Scott makes so pleasant a use in 'Peveril of the Peak,' under the name of Sir Geoffrey Hudson. Fuller gives his name Jeffery, mentions the circumstance of the pie, and says he was a captain of horse in the king's army during the civil wars.

'Church History of Britain,' notwithstanding their obvious and acknowledged faults, are treated with quite too much asperity of censure by Bishop Nicolson. We have not space to speak of the 'Abel Redivivus,' the 'Good Thoughts in Bad times,' &c., and several other of his writings.

The most interesting of Fuller's works, if not the best in every respect, are 'The Holy State' and 'The Profane State.' They consist of a series of moral portraits, or descriptions of good and bad characters and qualities in the several stations and relations of life, illustrated sometimes by biographical sketches, and seasoned throughout with the peculiarities of the humorous author.* This mode of delineating characters in the abstract, or the description of persons as representing a class, was a style of writing much in vogue in the seventeenth century, and seems to have been regarded by the authors of that time as a whetstone to their epigrammatic ingenuity. The 'Characterisms of Virtues and Vices,' by Bishop Hall, is the earliest specimen of this way of writing, with which we are acquainted, in English literature. Sir Thomas Overbury's 'Characters, or Witty Descriptions,' Bishop Earle's 'Microcosmography,' and Butler's 'Characters' (in the second volume of the 'Genuine Remains,' published by Thyer), are striking productions of the same kind, especially the last mentioned, which is distinguished by all the satirical power and caustic discrimination of the author of *Hudibras*. Fuller's works, to which we have adverted as belonging to this class, are full of wisdom conceived and exhibited in his peculiar fashion. For sagacious observations on life and manners, on the curious mechanism of character and action, and for a fine flow of manly and sometimes beautiful thought, spiced sufficiently with the quaintness of a facetious spirit, we know not to what works we should turn more readily than to the *Holy* and the *Profane State*. They are the overflowing of a mind, which had been intently engaged in taking note of the moral

* A singular mistake respecting the authorship of these works is committed by Dr. Wordsworth in his 'Ecclesiastical Biography.' He ascribes them to the pen of Nicholas Ferrar, who, it seems, was in the habit of employing the women of his family in transcribing valuable publications, for the purpose of having them illuminated and bound in a choice manner. Among others thus prepared, a manuscript copy of the *Holy* and *Profane State* was found among his papers after his death; and this circumstance, it is said, led Dr. Wordsworth into his strange error.

phenomena of man. They are well adapted to perform one of the best offices, which a book can perform, — that of making the reader think; not only furnishing him with suggestions of great practical importance, but awakening and stimulating his mind to reflections of its own. For works like these, the times of peculiar agitation in which Fuller lived, and in which every form of character, whether generous and pure, or fantastic and vile, was strongly developed, may have furnished unusually ample materials and excitement.

Of the cast of thought and mode of writing in this work, the following passages on Anger, and on Self-praising, will afford fair specimens.

‘Let not thy anger be so hot, but that the most torrid zone thereof may be habitable. Fright not people from thy presence with the terror of thy intolerable impatience. Some men, like a tiled house, are long before they take fire, but once on flame there is no coming near to quench them.’ — p. 173.

‘Anger kept till the next morning, with manna, doth putrefy and corrupt; save that manna corrupted not at all, and anger most of all, kept the next sabbath. Saint Paul saith, “Let not the sun go down on your wrath;” to carry news to the antipodes in another world of thy revengeful nature. Yet let us take the Apostle’s meaning, rather than his words, with all possible speed to depose our passion, not understanding him so literally that we may take leave to be angry till sunset: then might our wrath lengthen with the days; and men in Greenland, where day lasts above a quarter of a year, have plentiful scope of revenge. And as the English (by command of William the Conqueror) always raked up their fire, and put out their candles, when the curfew-bell was rung; let us then also quench all sparks of anger, and heat of passion.’ — pp. 173, 174.

‘He whose own worth doth speak, need not speak his own worth. Such boasting sounds proceed from emptiness of desert: whereas the conquerors in the Olympian games did not put on the laurels on their own heads, but waited till some other did it. Only anchorets that want company may crown themselves with their own commendations.

‘It showeth more wit but no less vanity to commend one’s self not in a straight line but by reflection. Some sail to the port of their own praise by a side-wind; as when they dispraise themselves, stripping themselves naked of what is their due, that the modesty of the beholders may clothe them with it again; or when they flatter another to his face, tossing the ball to him

that he may throw it back again to them; or when they commend that quality, wherein themselves excel, in another man (though absent) whom all know far their inferior in that faculty; or lastly, (to omit other ambushes men set to surprise praise) when they send the children of their own brain to be nursed by another man, and commend their own works in a third person, but if challenged by the company that they were authors of them themselves, with their tongues they faintly deny it, and with their faces strongly affirm it.' — pp. 155, 156.

In the following extract from 'The Good Sea-Captain,' there is a strain of vivid and imaginative writing, though occasionally disfigured by an uncouth expression.

'Tell me, ye naturalists, who sounded the first march and retreat to the tide, "Hither shalt thou come, and no further?" Why doth not the water recover his right over the earth, being higher in nature? Whence came the salt, and who first boiled it, which made so much brine? When the winds are not only wild in a storm, but even stark mad in a hurricane, who is it that restores them again to their wits, and brings them asleep in a calm? Who made the mighty whales, who swim in a sea of water, and have a sea of oil swimming in them? Who first taught the waters to imitate the creatures on land? so that the sea is the stable of horse-fishes, the stall of kine-fishes, the sty of hog-fishes, the kennel of dog-fishes, and in all things the sea the ape of the land. Whence grows the ambergris in the sea? which is not so hard to find where it is, as to know what it is. Was not God the first shipwright? and all vessels on the water descended from the loins (or ribs rather) of Noah's ark? Or else who durst be so bold; with a few crooked boards nailed together, a stick standing upright, and a rag tied to it, to adventure into the ocean? What loadstone first touched the loadstone? or how first fell it in love with the north, rather affecting that cold climate than the pleasant east, or fruitful south or west? How comes that stone to know more than men, and find the way to the land in a mist?'* — pp. 113, 114.

* In 'Vivian Grey,' part second, there is a direct plagiarism of a portion of the above extract from Fuller. Essper George addresses the sea as follows; 'O thou indifferent ape of earth, — what art thou, O bully Ocean, but the stable of horse-fishes, the stall of cow-fishes, the sty of hog-fishes, and the kennel of dog-fishes?' — A modern novelist might probably deem himself very secure in plundering the folio of an old divine; but one would hardly have expected him to think of resorting to such a source.

We trust that a literary undertaking so judiciously and well begun, will not fail for want of the patronage of our reading community. Should it proceed, as it has commenced, a set of volumes will appear, which will surely deserve and claim a place in the libraries of all, who love the wisdom of 'olden time.' Enough, and more than enough, of our attention is called and given to the productions adapted to meet and satisfy the transient taste of the day, springing up in crowds with a rapidity that would be fearful, did they not pass away with equal rapidity, and leading us to suppose that the advice, which was long since given, is not thought to be out of season now :

'Stir, stir, for shame ; thou art a pretty scholar.
Ask how to live ? Write, write, write any thing ;
The world's a fine believing world, — write news.'

It is necessary, doubtless, that in the literary, as well as in the natural world, an annual supply should be provided for annual consumption. But meanwhile there is danger, lest the great minds of past generations should be forgotten by us, or treated with a neglect at once ungrateful to them and injurious to ourselves. We are far enough from wishing to see the antiquarian bibliomania displace important and useful studies. But we do wish to witness the prevalence of such a sound and just taste for the strong good sense, the exciting energy, and the intellectual riches of the older authors, as shall take away all occasion for the complaint, so beautifully expressed by Mr. Young, that 'the moss has been suffered to creep over "the wells of English undefiled," and hide their clear and sparkling waters from the general view.'

ART. II. — ORIGENIS *Opera Omnia, quæ Græcè vel Latine tantum* extant, et ejus Nomine circumferuntur.* Operâ et studio Caroli Delarue. Parisiis. 1733 — 1759. 4 vol fol.

At the conclusion of our remarks on the life and writings of Origen, in our last Number, we intimated our purpose to treat, in a future Number, of his opinions. The greater part

of his errors and extravagances, as it will appear, were derived from the corrupt philosophy which was then prevalent in Egypt, and with which his mind had become deeply imbued in the schools of Clement and Ammonius, the latter of whom was, at that time, chief of the sect of Alexandrian Platonists, and one of its most distinguished ornaments.

Origen's views of the Deity will not long detain us. He was accused by subsequent Fathers of circumscribing the power of the Divine Being, asserting that he created only as much matter as he could dispose and adorn, and that by his omnipotence we are to understand simply a dominion over things actually existing, 'the heavens, the earth, sun, moon, and stars, and all that is in them.' We shall not pause to examine the foundation of this charge, which may be regarded as in itself frivolous, and the discussion of which would plunge us into the dark abysses of the Alexandrian philosophy.

It has been made a question, whether he regarded the Deity as corporeal, or incorporeal. On this, as on several other points, his opinions, or at least his language fluctuates, and he appears not always consistent with himself. In the present instance, however, we believe that it is not difficult to reduce his apparently conflicting expressions into harmony with each other. With the ancients generally, he believed spirit to consist of an exceedingly subtile and attenuated substance, wholly unlike the gross and palpable bodies we bear about with us, but still not destitute of materiality, and in some sort strictly corporeal.* In this sense, he seems to have supposed the Deity corporeal. True, in parts of his writings, particularly in his books 'Of Principles,' if we may trust to the version of Rufinus, he says distinctly and repeatedly that God is incorporeal. But the term is evidently to be understood as subject to the qualification just pointed out. The Deity is not corporeal in the gross sense of the term, but he is so in the more refined sense, in which all spiritual beings, according to Origen, are to be regarded as such, all, from the Deity down to the human soul, being supposed by him, as we shall hereafter show, to partake of the same essence. Tertullian expressly ascribes a body to the Deity.† But Origen has not expressed himself so grossly, though, as we have

* De Princip. Præf.

† Adv. Prax. c. 7.

seen, he supposed a very intimate union between matter and God.*

In other respects, he appears to have entertained just and elevated conceptions of the nature and attributes of the Divine Being. He ascribes to him the greatest goodness and equity, and an absolute supremacy over all other beings, including the Son. With regard to the latter, he participated in the sentiments which were common to the age, and which were originally derived, as we contend, from Platonic sources. A rapid glance at the history of these sentiments may be necessary to put our readers in complete possession of the views of Origen, and fulfil our design of tracing the rise and progress of the doctrine of the trinity.

The first century was characterized by great simplicity of doctrine. The primitive Christians, it is true, appear to have sometimes applied the title *God* to Christ, but in a sense totally different from that in which it came afterwards to be attributed to him. His miraculous birth, his Messiahship, and the state of glory to which he was advanced after a painful and ignominious death, — God having ‘raised him up,’ and ‘highly exalted him,’ making him ‘both Lord and Christ,’ for the ‘suffering of death’ crowning him with ‘glory and

* He taught, according to Jerome, (Epist. 94, al. 59, ad Avitum,) that all bodies, that is, all of the grosser sort, will be finally converted into spiritual substances, that all corporeal nature will be reduced back to the divine, which is the ‘most excellent,’ and then ‘God will be all in all.’ This was the Alexandrian principle, which taught that matter originally flowed from the bosom of God, and which Origen has been considered as adopting in full extent. The principle well accords with several parts of his system, though we are not aware that he has any where expressly asserted it as regards the origin of matter. Beausobre thinks, that his real opinion was not that matter originally emanated from the substance of God; that all he meant to affirm, was, that God never existed for a moment without exercising his perfections, and consequently without an act of creation; and that in this sense he supposed matter to be eternal. Upon the emanative principle it might be regarded as eternal, as proceeding from the bosom of the Eternal One. The Egyptian Platonists, who were Origen’s masters, admitted it to be eternal in this sense alone, thus departing from the dualistic system of the Athenian Sage. See Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, T. II. pp. 284, 285. Also Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* T. III. p. 443, and Huet, *Origeniana*, Lib. II. c. II. Quæst. 2, § 24. Quæst. 12, § 2. To the learned labors of the latter especially, we acknowledge ourselves indebted for no little assistance in our attempt to collect and classify the opinions of Origen.

honor,' — were circumstances on which they dwelt with wonder, delight, and gratitude; and they did not hesitate occasionally to bestow, on a being thus favored and exalted, some of the epithets of Divinity. Thus they sometimes call Christ, God, and Jewish usage fully sanctioned such an application of the term. Magistrates and judges are repeatedly denominated Gods in the old Testament, and our Saviour alludes to this application of the word as well known to the Jews; John x. 35. It is not surprising that the primitive Christians, who as Jews, were familiar with this use of the term, should sometimes apply it to their master. Accustomed to hear the great and good prophets, judges, and magistrates of their nation called Gods, they would very naturally suppose that there could be no impiety in occasionally bestowing the title on Jesus, whose extraordinary birth, character, and offices were so fitted to inspire admiration and love. They never, however, thought of confounding him with the One Infinite Father, or making him in any sense his equal. The title in question was one of dignity and honor, applied primarily to the Supreme One, but in a secondary sense to beings inferior to him, to angels and men; and this use of it was too common to occasion any surprise, error, or embarrassment.

But when Christianity, in the second century, began to number among its converts men wearing the garb, and claiming the character and name of philosophers, this simplicity of faith, which till then remained, became corrupted. Educated as Platonists of the Alexandrian school, these philosophers were familiar with the belief of a sort of second God, *logos*, or reason, originally emanating from the fountain of the Divinity. This doctrine they took along with them on embracing the religion of Jesus; and misled by some obscure and figurative expressions employed by the Evangelists and Apostles, especially by John, they gradually incorporated it with the Christian system. Thus Jesus, who, before this time, had been called divine, and sometimes God, solely on account of his miraculous birth and exalted character and office, now began to be termed such in a different sense, that is, as a being from eternity existing in God, not personally, but as an attribute, as his reason, wisdom, or energy; which, a little before the creation of the world, was emitted, or thrown out, that is, converted into a real being or person, a kind of second God. After this event, he became, as these Fathers imagined, a be-

ing wholly distinct from God, was inferior to him, and his agent in forming and governing the world. They never apply to him the title 'God over all'; never ascribe to him supreme divinity. They did not suppose him eternal, except as an attribute of the Father. He existed in God, as reason exists in us, so existed from eternity, a mere quality or attribute. He was produced, that is, became a real being, when God, being about to create the world, had occasion to use his ministrations. Thus, as an attribute, he was, in their view, eternal; as a person, or being, he was not so, having been begotten or made (for they originally used both terms) in time. This is what these Fathers meant by the generation of the Son, which, as we have seen, was regarded by them as temporal, not as eternal.

The *logos*, or Son, being then produced, afterwards became incarnate, was made flesh, and became susceptible of suffering, and, as they thought, actually suffered, in his whole nature. To suppose that part of his nature was exempt from suffering, though deemed orthodox now, was then pronounced heresy.

Such is a general view of the doctrine of the Fathers, who were converts from Platonism, during the second and third centuries. This doctrine, which contains the germ of the trinity, was introduced into the Church, as we have satisfactorily shown, we trust, on a former occasion,* by Justin Martyr, who wrote about the middle of the second century. We shall now adduce evidence to prove that it was held by subsequent Fathers down to the time of Origen.

We will begin with Tatian, the Syrian, who was a disciple of Justin, and who flourished near the end of the second century. In language similar to that employed by his master, he describes God alone as without beginning, invisible, ineffable, the Author of all things visible and invisible,† epithets uniformly applied by Justin and the early Christian writers, to the Father, and never to the Son. He speaks of God's power as the 'beginning of the *logos*,' or Son. Considered in relation to the world not as yet actually existing, he was, says Tatian, *alone*. 'But in regard to his power, by which he

* Vol. II. pp. 303—328, New Series, where we introduced a discussion on the subject of the Origin of the Trinity.

† *Contra Græcos Oratio*.

was the cause of all things, visible and invisible, all things were *with him* ;' that is, as he had the power of producing them. 'With him, by virtue of his rational power,' or as he was a rational being, 'the *logos* which was in him, subsisted': that is, potentially, as he had the power of producing it. By a simple act of his will, his '*logos* leaped out from him, being his first begotten work,'* or beginning of the creation. From this and similar language, it is evident, that Tatian considered the *logos*, or Son, as originally, and from eternity in and with God, not as a real being or person, but only as an attribute, or by virtue of his power of producing it; in him and with him, only, as all things created were, by his power of voluntarily producing them. This, indeed, he asserts almost in so many words. He speaks of the Son as having a beginning, that is, considered as a real subsistence or person; and he evidently regarded him, after his production, as a being distinct from the Father, and inferior to him. The Son was produced by the Father, he tells us, as one torch is lighted from another, or as speech is produced in us from the faculty of speech within us, illustrations which were common with the Fathers, and imply a numerical distinction of being and essence. This distinction is expressly asserted by Justin, Tatian's master, who contends, in words as plain and unequivocal as language affords, that the Father and Son are two in number, two beings, the one visible, the other invisible, the one remaining fixed in his place, the other capable of motion from place to place; and Tatian obviously trod in his steps.

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, and contemporary with Tatian, taught the same doctrine. He speaks of God as Supreme, the 'true and only God,' 'without beginning,' 'invisible,' 'unbegotten,' and as such immutable, and finally as 'incapable of being comprehended in space'; and of the Son as inferior, having, as a real being, or person, a beginning, 'visible,' 'begotten,' and therefore, according to his philosophy,† not possessing the attribute of immutability, which belonged

* Contra Græcos Oratio, pp. 246–248, ed. Paris. annexed to the works of Justin Martyr, Paris, 1742. This edition of Justin contains, also, the writings which are extant, of Theophilus of Antioch, and Athenagoras. In citing these authors, our references are uniformly made to this edition.

† Ad Autolycum, Lib. i. pp. 149–280.

only to the unbegotten One, and lastly, as 'contained in space,' and capable of locomotion. He describes him as originally not *with* God as a separate subsistence, but *in* him, as an attribute, that is, his *logos*, reason, or wisdom; but, says he, 'God, when about to make those things he had designed, begat this *logos*, producing, or throwing him out, the first-born of every creature.'* Thus he became a real being, subject to the will of the Father, and was employed by him as his instrument in making the worlds. Afterwards, when it pleased the Father, he was commissioned by him to go from place to place, where he was 'heard and seen.' He entered Paradise, and conversed with Adam and Eve, not in his own person, but in the 'person of the Father and Lord of all,' and was visible in a circumscribed space.† He is thus plainly distinguished from the supreme and unbegotten God.

Again, Theophilus contends expressly that the 'one only and true God,' by whom he always understands the Father, is alone to be 'worshipped.'‡ But it is unnecessary to adduce further evidence of his views of the Son, whom he evidently regarded as born, or produced from the reason of the Father, a little before the creation of the world, thus becoming a distinct being, subject to the will of the Father, and not entitled to equal adoration.§

Theophilus was the first Christian writer who used the term 'trinity,' in reference to the Deity, but it is deserving of remark that the three 'distinctions,' or three 'somewhats,' to adopt the modern phraseology, designated by it, are, according to him, 'God, his *logos*, and his wisdom.' By *wisdom*, we suppose we are here to understand the Spirit, though in

* Ad Autol. Lib. II. p. 365. See also p. 355.

† Lib. II. p. 365.

‡ Lib. I. p. 345.

§ When Theophilus speaks of God, as consulting his *logos*, or wisdom, before the generation of the Son, he evidently uses a figurative mode of expression. So a man is said to take counsel of his understanding, or of his affections; he consults his sense of duty, or his inclination, but no one supposes this phraseology to imply that the understanding, or affections, or conscience, are real beings, persons. Such expressions are familiar in all languages, and they serve to explain what is meant by the early Fathers, when they speak of God as consulting his *logos*, reason, or wisdom, before the event called by them the generation of the Son. The phraseology is not of a nature to create the least embarrassment. Every school-boy knows better than to construe it as implying an actual consultation between real beings.

the theology of the Fathers, it was generally considered as synonymous with the *logos* or word. It was often, however, confounded with the Spirit.*

Athenagoras, a learned Athenian, also flourished near the end of the second century; and from two short pieces of his, which are extant, it appears that he was equally careful with the writers above quoted, to preserve the supremacy of the Father, and entertained similar views of the origin and rank of the Son. He calls him the 'mind, intellect, and *logos* of the Father,' the 'first progeny of the Father.' 'God,' he tells us, 'always had in himself *logos*, or reason, being always rational.' Hence sprang the Son, from an attribute becoming a person, or being, whom the Father used as his instrument in forming the world. Thus he was regarded by Athenagoras as distinct and subordinate.†

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, also wrote late in the second century, and has left on record a summary of the faith

* So, too, they often confounded the Spirit with the *logos*, adhering to the old Jewish phraseology, but attributing to it an entirely new sense. Thus in Psalm xxxiii. 6. 'By the *word* of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the *breath* of his mouth,' or *spirit*, the two terms, *word* and *spirit*, are used to express the same thing, that is, a divine operation. There is no allusion whatever to persons, or separate agents, but only to a mode of divine agency. Such was the Jewish sense of the terms, and in this sense they were synonymous. When the Platonizing Fathers had affixed a new sense to the term *logos*, or *word*, considering it as designating a real person, they still for a time retained former Jewish modes of expression, though utterly at variance with their system. Thus they speak indiscriminately of the Spirit and *logos* as inspiring the prophets, and of the Spirit, or power of God, or *logos*, as overshadowing the Virgin. According to the sense the Jews attributed to those terms, there was no inconsistency in this use of them, the breath, spirit, power, or word of the Lord, being only different modes of expressing a divine influence, or act of power. But when the *logos*, or word, came to be considered a person or being, distinct from the Father and Spirit, whether the last was regarded as a person or an influence, the phraseology became absurd. The Fathers, however, continued to use it occasionally from the effect of habit. The history of the phraseology in question, the signification it bore in the writings of the Jews, its inconsistency with the doctrine of the Fathers, though from custom they continued to employ it, afford, to our minds, conclusive evidence, had we no other, that they were innovators. The doctrine of the trinity was as yet very imperfectly formed; as it became further advanced, the phraseology alluded to was gradually dropped.

† Legat. pro Christ. See particularly pp. 282 - 284, and 286, 287.

of Christians of his time, in which we discover no trace of the doctrines of modern orthodoxy.* Like the philosophical converts of the second and third centuries generally, he believed, unquestionably, that the Son had a sort of metaphysical existence in the Father, as an attribute from eternity, but he is very careful, on all occasions, to distinguish him from the 'one true and only God,' who is 'over all,' and 'besides whom there is no other.' The Father 'sends,' the Son is 'sent;' the Father 'commands,' the Son ministers to his will, and was his instrument in making the world. These and similar expressions, which form his current phraseology, and, in fact, are interwoven with the texture of his whole work 'Against Heresies,' would not have been employed by one, who conceived of the Son as partaking of the numerical essence of the Father, or as in any sense his equal.

Again, he quotes the words of our Saviour, Mark xiii, 32, 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father,' without any attempt to explain them away, or evade the obvious inference. He admits their truth in the simplest and broadest sense, and thence deduces an argument for humility. 'If the Son,' says he, 'did not blush to refer the knowledge of that day to the Father, neither do we blush to reserve the solution of difficult questions to God.'† He goes further. Far from denying the consequence we should derive from the expression referred to, he expressly admits it. Our Saviour, he observes, used this expression, 'that we might learn from him, that the Father is over all; for, the Father, he says, is greater than I.'‡ The doctrine of two natures, by the help of which modern Trinitarians attempt to evade the force of this and similar passages, was not as yet invented. Irenæus very honestly understood the words of our Saviour according to their obvious, and, we add, necessary import; and thus understood, we perceive, they taught nothing which militated against his views of the nature and rank of the Saviour.

Irenæus has another class of expressions which show that he never thought of attributing to the Son an equality with the Father. He describes his power, dignity, and titles, as derived from the gift of the Father. Thus, 'he received do-

* Adv. Hær. Lib. i. c. 2, 3. See also Lib. iii. c. 1 & 4.

† Lib. ii. c. 48.

‡ Ib. c. 49.

minion of the Father.' 'The Father *gave* him the heritage of the nations,' 'subjected all his enemies to him,' and hence he is entitled to be called 'Lord.' But it is unnecessary to multiply quotations.

Irenæus evidently believed that Jesus Christ suffered in his whole nature. There were some Christians of his time of the sect of Gnostics, who maintained that a certain exalted intelligence, called Christ, descended on Jesus at his baptism, and left him and reascended at his crucifixion. This opinion he strenuously combats, as taking away the Saviour, who, according to this hypothesis, was neither incarnate nor died, the man Jesus alone having suffered; thus clearly intimating his belief, that Jesus Christ was not in any part of his nature impassible. Again, he says, 'Jesus, who suffered for us, is the *logos* of God,' whence we may infer that he supposed him to have suffered in his most exalted nature.* It is hence quite obvious that he did not regard him as one in essence with God.

We come next to Tertullian, a Latin Father, who flourished about the year 200. His testimony on the points under consideration, is even more full and explicit than that of Irenæus. He has transmitted three creeds, or summaries of the belief of Christians in his time,† similar in sentiment, though differing somewhat in expression. All these teach the supremacy of the Father, a doctrine, in fact, which stands prominent in all the writings of Tertullian, especially in his treatises against Hermogenes and Praxeas. We might fill page after page with expressions in which it is either directly asserted, or necessarily implied. Thus he is the 'One Supreme, of whom are all things,' 'who made all things by the

* Lib. i. c. 1, 25. Lib. iii. c. 11, § 1. He sometimes, indeed, speaks of the *logos* as quiescent during the crucifixion, though the train of his reasoning, as we have seen, evidently implies his belief that the whole Christ suffered. To the intelligent reader it will occur, that if this reasoning was good against the followers of Cerinthus, and others of his time, it is equally conclusive against a doctrine of modern orthodoxy. The Orthodox of modern ages, in fact, virtually occupy the place of the heretics in the days of Irenæus. The former teach that Christ suffered only in his human nature, and this was condemned by the early Fathers as a denial of the Saviour. But there are strange revolutions in human opinion.

† De Præscrip. Hæret. c. 13. Adv. Prax. c. 2. De Virg. Veland.

instrumentality of his word,' 'without beginning,' and who 'has no equal.'*

Tertullian admits that the Son is entitled to be called God, on the principle that 'whatever is born of God is God,' just as one born of human parents is human. He speaks of him as possessing 'unity of substance' with God; but by this and similar phrases, as the learned well know, the Ante-Nicene Fathers never meant to express a numerical unity of essence, but only a specific, that is a common, nature. Thus all human beings, as such, are of one substance; the son is of one substance with the father. In this sense Tertullian evidently uses the phrase in question, as he immediately proceeds to explain. For, after saying that the Son has 'unity of substance' with God, he adds, 'for God is spirit,' and, 'from spirit is produced spirit, from God, God, from light, light.'† Thus he supposed the Son to be in some sort divine by virtue of his birth, and of one substance with God, as he is a spirit, and God is spirit. At the same time he regarded him as a different being from the Father, that is, numerically distinct from him. This, all his illustrations imply, and moreover he expressly affirms it. 'The Son,' he says, 'is derived from God, as the branch from the root, the stream from the fountain, the ray from the sun.' 'The root and the branch are two *things*, though conjoined; and the fountain and the stream are two *species*, though undivided; and the sun and its ray are two forms, though cohering.'‡ And so, according to him, God and Christ are two *things*, two *species*, two *forms*. Things 'conjoined,' or 'cohering,' must necessarily be two. We do not use the terms of one individual substance. Again, alluding to John i. 1, he says, 'There is one who was, and another with whom he was.'§ Again, he observes, 'He who begets is different from him who is begotten; he who *sends*, from him who is sent.'|| Again, alluding to 1 Cor. xv, 27, 28, he says, 'From this passage of the Apostolical Epistle, it may be shown that the Father and Son are two, not only from a difference in name, but from the fact, that he who delivers a kingdom, and he to whom it is delivered, he who subjects, and he who receives in subjection, are necessarily two.'¶

* Adv. Marcionem, L. i. c. 3. Adv. Hermog. c. 4. See also references in the preceding note.

† Apol. adv. Gentes. c. 21.

‡ Adv. Prax. c. 8.

§ Ib. c. 13.

|| Ib. c. 29.

¶ Ib. c. 4.

That he regarded the Son as inferior, is evident from the following declarations. He was produced by the Father. 'The Lord created me,' as he quotes from the Septuagint, 'the beginning of his ways.' Prov. viii, 22. Thus he was the first of all beings produced, 'the beginning' of the creation, the first work of God, who, as Tertullian adds, being about to form the world, 'produced the word, that by him, as his instrument, he might make the universe.'* 'The Father,' he says, 'is a whole substance, the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he professes, saying, "The Father is greater than I,"'† which Tertullian understands according to the literal import of the terms. He speaks of God as the 'head of Christ,' and of the latter as deriving all his power and titles from the former. Thus he is 'most high, *because* by the right hand of God exalted, as Peter declares, Acts ii, 24, Lord of hosts, *because* all things are subjected to him by the Father.'‡ He 'does nothing except by the will of the Father, having received all power from him.'§ And hence Tertullian contends the supremacy of the Father, or monarchy, as he calls it, which the innovations of the learned Platonizing Christians were thought by the more simple and unlettered to impair, is preserved, the Son having received from the Father the kingdom, which he is hereafter to restore.

Tertullian, though he admits the preëxistence of the Son, expressly denies his eternity. 'There was a time,' he tells us, 'when the Son was not.'|| Again, 'Before all things, God was alone, himself a world, and place, and all things to himself.' That is, as he explains it, nothing existed without, or beyond himself. 'Yet he was not alone, for he had his own reason, which was in himself, with him. For God is rational,' a being endued with reason. This reason, or *logos*, as it was called by the Greeks, he proceeds to tell us, was afterwards converted into the Word, or Son, that is, a real being, having existed, from eternity, only as an attribute of the Father.¶ The whole passage is exceedingly curious, but is too long for quotation. We might multiply extracts without number; but enough has been said to show, that Tertullian believed the Son to be, in reality, a distinct being from the Father, inferior to him, deriving from him his being

* Adv. Prax. c. 6.

† Ib. c. 9.

‡ Ib. c. 17.

§ Ib. c. 4.

|| Adv. Hermog. c. 3.

¶ Adv. Prax. c. 5.

and power, subject in all things to his will, and one with him, as he partook of a similar spiritual and divine nature, and was united with him in affection and purpose.*

We come lastly to the celebrated Clement of Alexandria, the master of Origen. Clement devoted himself with ardor to the study of the popular philosophy, and derived from it a multitude of absurd dogmas, of which, by the help of the allegorical method of interpretation, for which he was a strenuous advocate, he persuaded himself he discovered the germs in the sacred writings. Plato, he conceived, had originally stolen them from Moses,† and it was right to reclaim them. With his opinions, however, except on the subject of the trinity, we have at present no concern. None of the Platonizing Fathers, before Origen, have acknowledged the inferiority of the Son in more explicit terms. Photius is angry with him for ‘depressing the Son to the rank of a creature,’ and using ‘other impious words full of blasphemy,’ in a work which has since perished. Rufinus, too, charges him with calling the ‘Son of God a creature.’‡ In his *Stromata*, he calls ‘Wisdom,’ that is, the Son, the ‘first-created of God,’§ the ‘beginning of the universe,’ that is, the first production of God, by whom he made all things. He speaks of Christ as subject to the Father, and acting by his will and command. He acknowledges the Father to be ‘Supreme,’ the ‘one unbegotten God,’ and says, in his address to the Gentiles, whom he urges to conversion, ‘You shall sing with angels around the unbegotten, ever living, and only true God, the *logos* of God *hymning with us*.’ Such language could be used only by one who believed God and the Son to be numerically distinct, in other words, two beings, the one supreme, and the other subordinate, the first-born of all created intelligences,

* Adv. Prax. c. 22.

† ‘Plato,’ he tells us, ‘learned geometry of the Egyptians, astronomy of the Babylonians, song of the Thracians, but derived his laws and divinity from the Hebrews.’ ‘Who is Plato,’ he asks, in another place, ‘but Moses Atticizing?’ The Mosaic and the Platonic philosophy, or divinity, if we may call it such, however, were essentially and radically different, and, as combined by the Fathers, formed a most unnatural union. It is very clear, therefore, that they were mistaken in supposing that he borrowed from the Hebrew lawgiver, or that his philosophy was, as they supposed, shadowed forth in the books of the Old Testament.

‡ Jerome, *Apol. adv. Rufin. Lib. II.*

§ *Lib. v.*

and with them, as their elder brother, hymning hallelujahs around the throne of the One Infinite Father.

He calls the Son, or *logos*, the 'image of God,' as man is the 'image of the Son'; again, his 'hand,' or instrument. He describes God as the 'original and sole author of eternal life, which the Son,' he says, 'receiving of God, gives to us.' He makes the great requisite to eternal life to be, 'to know God, eternal, giver of eternal blessings, and first, and supreme, and one, and good, and then the greatness of the Saviour after him,'* according to the declaration of Jesus, 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' John xvii, 3.

We have thus adduced evidence, not so ample as we might, but as ample as is needed, to show that the strict and proper inferiority of the Son, was a doctrine of all the principal Fathers from Justin Martyr, A.D. 130, to Origen, A.D. 240; that they had, however, departed from the doctrine of the primitive Christians, who regarded him as divine only by virtue of his miraculous birth, and the dignity of his character and office; that, seduced by a love of the reigning philosophy, they ascribed to him a sort of metaphysical existence from eternity, not as a real being, or person, but as an attribute of the Father, his reason, or wisdom; that they regarded him as produced, begotten, or made, (for they use all these terms,) in time, and the agent of the Father in forming the world; and finally, that some, if not all of them, believed, that he suffered in his whole nature,† and deemed a denial of this, heresy.

We are now prepared to return to Origen. Like the preceding Fathers, he regarded the Son as the first production of the Father, having emanated from him as light from the sun, and thus partaking of the same substance, that is, a divine. He believed, however, that God and the Son constituted two individual essences, two beings. This belief he distinctly avows in more than one instance, and the general strain of his writings implies it. He disclaims being of the number of

* *Quis Dives Salv.*

† So Clement seems to have thought, as well as Irenæus and others. The believers of his simple humanity they allowed to be Christians; the believers of an impassible nature, as before observed, they condemned as heretics. From the former, Justin Martyr simply expresses his dissent; for the latter, as they arose, subsequent Fathers express their abhorrence.

those, 'who deny that the Father and Son are two substances'; and proceeds to assert that they 'are two things as to their essence, but one in consent, concord, and identity of will.'* He quotes the Saviour, 'I and my Father are one,' which he explains as referring solely to unity of will and affection, and refers, in illustration, to Acts iv, 32, 'And the multitude of them that believed, were of one heart and one soul.'† Again, from the circumstance that Jesus is called 'light,' in the Gospel of John, i. 4, 5, 9, and in his Epistle, 1 John, i. 5, God is said to be 'light,' some, he observes, may infer, that 'the Father does not differ from the Son in essence.' But this inference, he proceeds to say, would be wrong. For, 'the light, which shines in darkness, and is not comprehended by it, is not the same with that in which there is no darkness at all.' The Father and the Son, he then says, are 'two lights.'‡ This, surely, is not the reasoning of a Trinitarian. Once more, he expresses his disapprobation of the hypothesis, that 'the Spirit has no proper essence diverse from the Father and Son,' and adds, 'We believe that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three essences, or three substances.'§

Let us next hear what he says of the *inferiority* of the Son. Jerome, who had access to several of his works, which are now lost, or have come down to us in a corrupt and mutilated form, accuses him of saying, that 'the Son was not begotten, but made'; that, 'compared with the Father, he is a very small light, which appears great to us on account of our feebleness.' Again, Origen, he says, 'takes the example of two images, a larger and smaller; of which, one fills the world, and becomes in some sort invisible by its magnitude; the other falls within the limits of distinct vision. To the former, he compares the Father, to the latter, the Son.' He

* Cont. Cels. L. viii. 'Two in essence.' The term in the original is *hypostasis*, essence. In this sense, it was always used by the early Fathers, and not in the modern sense. '*Trinitas* pro obliq. priscis temporibus solebat usurpari ab Ethnicis et Christianis,' says Huet. 'Hieronymus, Epist. 57, ad Damas. *Tota sæcularium literarum schola nihil aliud intellēxerunt nisi obliq. novit.* Ita sumpserunt Nicæni Patres, ita Sardicensēs.' Orig. L. ii. c. ii. Quæst. 2, § 3. That such was the meaning of the term, as used by the ancient Fathers, admits of no dispute. So Brucker, Petavius, Du Pin, and the learned Trinitarians generally decide.

† Ib.

‡ Comment. in Joan. T. ii. Opp. T. iv. p. 76.

§ Ib. p. 61.

attributes, continues Jerome, 'perfect goodness' only to the 'Omnipotent Father,' and does not allow 'the Son to be good,' that is, in an absolute sense, 'but only a certain breath and image of goodness.'*

But let us listen to Origen himself. In his commentaries on John, he pronounces 'God, the *logos*,' or Son, to be 'surpassed by the God of the Universe.'† Commenting on John i, 3, 'All things were made by him,' he observes, that the particle *by*, or *through*, (*διὰ*) is never referred to the primary agent, but only to the secondary and subordinate, and he takes as an example, Heb. i, 2, 'By whom also he made the worlds,' or ages. By this expression, he says, Paul meant to teach us, that 'God made the ages by the Son,' as an instrument. So he adds, in the place under consideration, 'If all things were made (*διὰ*) through the *logos*, or Son, they were not made (*ὑπὸ*) by him,' that is, as the primary cause, 'but by a greater and better,' and who can that be, but the Father'?‡ Again, Jesus is called the 'true light,' and 'in proportion as God, the Father of truth, is greater than truth, and the Father of wisdom is more noble and excellent than wisdom, in the same proportion,' says Origen, 'he excels the true light.'§ Again, the Son and Spirit, he says, 'are excelled by the Father as much, or more, than they excel other beings.' 'He is in no respect to be compared with the Father. For he is the image of his goodness, and the effulgence, not of God, but of his glory, and of his eternal light, and a ray, not of the Father, but of his power, and a pure emanation of his most powerful glory, and spotless mirror of his energy.'|| Again, 'the Father who sent him [Jesus] is alone good, and *greater* than he who was sent.'¶

Again, Origen contends that Christ is not the object of supreme worship, and that prayer, properly such, ought never to be addressed to him, but is to be offered to the God of the Universe, through his only-begotten Son, who, as our intercessor and high priest, bears our petitions to the throne of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God. On this subject, he is very full and explicit. 'Prayer is not to be directed,' he says, 'to one begotten, not even to Christ himself, but to the God and Father of the Universe alone, to

* Epist. 94, al. 59, ad Avitum.

† Opp. Tom. iv. p. 53.

‡ Ib. p. 60.

§ Ib. p. 76.

|| Ib. pp. 235, 236.

¶ Ib. p. 139.

whom also our Saviour prayed, and to whom he teaches us to pray. When his disciples said, "Teach us to pray," he taught them to pray, not to himself, but to the Father, saying, "Our Father, who art in heaven." For, if the Son,' he continues, 'be different from the Father in essence, as we have proved in another place, we must either pray to the Son, and not to the Father, or to both, or to the Father alone. But no one is so absurd as to maintain that we are to pray to the Son, and not to the Father. If prayer is addressed to both, we ought to use the plural number, and say, "Forgive, bless, preserve *ye* us," or something like it. But as this is not a fit mode of address, and no example of it occurs in the Scriptures, it remains that we pray to the Father of the Universe alone.' He adds, 'But as he who would pray as he ought, must not pray to him who himself prays, but to him whom Jesus our Lord taught us to invoke in prayer, namely, the Father, so no prayer is to be offered to the Father without him; which he clearly shows when he says, John xvi: 23, 24, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it you. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name; ask, and ye shall receive; that your joy may be full." For he does not say, Ask me, nor, Ask the Father, simply; but, "If ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it you." For until Jesus had thus taught them, no one had asked the Father in the name of the Son, and what he said was true, "Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name."' And again, 'What are we to infer,' asks Origen, 'from the question, "Why call ye me good? There is none good but one, God the Father."' What, but that he meant to say, Why pray to me? It is proper to pray to the Father alone, to whom I pray, as ye learn from the Scriptures. For ye ought not to pray to him who is constituted by the Father high priest for you, and who has received the office of advocate from the Father, but through the high priest and advocate, who can be touched with the feeling of your infirmities, having been tempted in all respects as ye are, but, by the gift of the Father, tempted without sin. Learn, therefore, how great a gift ye have received of my Father, having obtained, through generation in me, the spirit of adoption, by which ye have a title to be called the sons of God, and my brethren; as I said to the Father concerning you, by the mouth of David, "I will declare thy name to my brethren,

in the midst of the assembly I will sing praise to thee." But it is not according to reason for a brother to be addressed in prayer by those who are glorified by the same Father. Ye are to pray to the Father alone, with and through me.*

This we take to be sound Unitarianism. Indeed the question of the impropriety of addressing the Son in prayer, could not have been better argued by the most strenuous advocate for the divine unity at the present day.

We have thus shown, as we think, conclusively, that Origen believed God and the Son to be two essences, two substances, two beings; that he placed the Son at an immense distance from the Infinite One, and was strongly impressed with the impropriety of addressing him in prayer, strictly so called; that he viewed him, however, as standing at the head of all God's offspring, and with them, and for them, as his younger brethren, whom he had been appointed to teach and to save, offering prayer at the throne of the Eternal.

To the Spirit, Origen assigned a place below the Son, by whom, according to him, it was made. To the Spirit, the office of redeeming the human race properly pertained; but it being incompetent to so great a work, the Son, who alone was adequate to accomplish it, engaged.† The Father, he says, pervades all things; the Son, only beings endowed with reason; and the Holy Spirit, only the sanctified, or saved.

It had been a prevalent philosophical notion, that man possessed both a rational and a sensitive soul; but this notion was now becoming obsolete, and the spirit, and soul, or sensitive principle, were often confounded. The latter, the Platonizing Fathers, before the time of Origen, ascribed to Christ, but not, as we are persuaded, the former, or rational soul. The place of this was supplied, as they thought, by the *logos*.‡ Ori-

* De Orat. Opp. T. I. pp. 222, 223. See also Cont. Cels. L. v, § 4, p. 580. L. VIII, § 13, p. 751. ib. § 26, p. 761.

† Comment. in Joan. T. II. Opp. T. IV. p. 60 - 63. Jerome Epist. 94, ad Avitum.

‡ Dr. Priestley thinks differently, supposing the ancient doctrine to have been that the *logos* was united with a 'proper human soul,' by which he means the rational principle. But we are not satisfied with the evidence he offers in support of his position, as regards the Fathers who preceded Origen. We think that he has not been sufficiently attentive to the distinction above alluded to, between the rational and the sensitive soul, the latter of which is intended by the Fathers in question, when they speak of Christ as consisting of 'a body, *logos*, and

gen's views on this subject, however, appear to have been peculiar. He supposed that the *logos*, or divine nature of Christ, became united with a human rational soul before his incarnation. He believed all souls to be preëxistent, all endowed with freedom. Of these souls, which, from the moment of their production, were placed in a state of probation, one having used well its liberty, was, on account of its distinguished sanctity, taken into union with the *logos*, or Son, and became one spirit with it, one substance. This union, as Origen supposed, prepared the way for a future union with flesh, a divine nature being incapable of union with body without some medium.* The soul, thus honored, was selected, as just intimated, for its merits. Retaining its immaculate purity, and love to its Maker, it was rewarded by being raised into union with the divine *logos*; and we, as Origen further taught, if we imitate the singular love of Christ to God, shall be made partakers of the same *logos*, and, in proportion to our merits, be taken into union with it.†

It is not easy to determine precisely what views Origen

soul,' ψυχή. Such is the expression of Justin Martyr. This error, as we deem it, of Dr. Priestley, was associated with another, which is, that the early Fathers believed that Christ did not suffer in his whole nature. But the course of reasoning they pursue, as before observed, often implies their belief that he did so suffer; besides, they sometimes speak of a suffering *logos*, though, it is true, solitary expressions may be quoted from their writings, which appear, at first view, to favor the opposite supposition. We think that Dr. Priestley, in general so fair, suffered his decisions, in the present case, to be influenced, unconsciously, by the character of his theological views. He seems to have felt more solicitude than we feel, to deprive the doctrine of Arius of support from the philosophical opinions of the second and third centuries, and to trace in the opinions of the Platonizing Fathers, what he conceived, with or without reason, to have been the original doctrine of the simple humanity. The doctrine of Arius, as we hope, on some future occasion, to be able to show, was undoubtedly an innovation, but not, we think, to the extent Dr. Priestley appears to have supposed. In denying that Christ possessed a human rational soul, he trod, we conceive, in the footsteps of the early philosophical, though not of the ancient uneducated, Christians.

* De Princip. Lib. ii. c. 6.

† Delaune has attempted, we think, without success, to prove that doctrines, so fraught with difficulties as the above, would never have been held by Origen. But Origen was not much in the habit of rejecting opinions on account of their apparent extravagance. Besides, the doctrines alluded to, are, in their essential features, in perfect harmony with his whole system, especially with his views of free will and merit.

entertained of the *nature* of the efficacy of Christ's death. He speaks of it much in the style of the sacred writers, that is, he is satisfied to use very general terms, which admit of great latitude of construction. The expressions he employs on the subject, are, consequently, wholly unlike the language adopted by the modern advocates for the doctrine of the atonement, nor do the notions conveyed by this language ever appear to have occurred to his mind.* He certainly did not hold what are now, with singular infelicity, called the 'doctrines of grace,' sometimes the 'evangelical doctrines,' or 'doctrines of Calvinism.' Of these doctrines, no trace is to be found in this learned Father. On the contrary, his writings furnish an armory, from which may be drawn weapons, effectually to combat them.

He frequently alludes to the subject of the sufferings and cross of Christ, but not more frequently, we think, than the adherents of a rational faith at the present day, nor does he urge it with more warmth and earnestness. If there is any difference, it is not greater than would naturally be produced by the different situation of the writers, and character of the times. The 'reproach of the cross' was perpetually objected to Christians, by unbelievers of the early ages; and the Apologists for Christianity, in the true spirit of St. Paul, did not hesitate, on all fit occasions, to testify that what to the 'Greeks' seemed 'foolishness,' was to them matter of 'glorifying.' Origen, like the other Fathers, was fond of regarding Christ as the light, the guide, and pattern of the human soul; as its purifier, its redeemer, and Saviour, as well by his teachings as by his death. He was the wisdom of the Father, and the image of his goodness and truth; as such, it was his appropriate office to shed light on the human spirit, and, by infusing into it all holy and godlike affections, to prepare it for a final union with the great Source of being, of light, and

* From the manner in which he sometimes expresses himself, it would seem that he did not attribute to the death of Christ an efficacy peculiar in kind, but only in extent. 'Perhaps,' says he, 'as we are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, he having received,' as the reward of his sufferings, 'a name above every name, so some will be redeemed by the precious blood of martyrs, their martyrdom contributing also to their exaltation.' Exhort. ad Martyrium. Opp. T. i. p. 309. Again, 'Jesus laid down his life for us, and let us lay down ours, I will not say, for him, but for ourselves, and for those who may be edified by our martyrdom.' Ib. p. 301.

enjoyment. So Origen viewed him; and the language in which he spoke of him partook not of that narrow, jejune, and technical character, which has but too often marked the discourses and writings of Christians of later ages.

With regard to the *extent* of the benefits intended to be conveyed by the death of Christ, Origen entertained some very singular, and, as will be admitted by all, exceedingly wild and visionary notions. But, to enable our readers readily to comprehend his opinions, or, perhaps, his conjectures, on this subject, we must first make them acquainted with his views of the great system of rational and animated natures, comprehending angels, men, and demons; sun, moon, and stars. Those views, it will be perceived, were derived from the very fanciful philosophy of the age; and though they may constitute bad theology, they are entitled, some of them at least, to our admiration, as beautiful creations of a poetic imagination.

All beings endowed with reason, according to Origen, are of one nature, or essence,* and were produced long before the foundation of the visible world. In this opinion, he was not singular. The preëxistence of souls was a dogma of the reigning philosophy. At first, as Origen maintained, they were pure intelligences, all glowing with love to their Maker. They, however, possessed entire freedom, and the capacity of virtue and vice. The consequence was, their primeval love grew cold, and they became in various degrees estranged from God, the fountain and centre of moral life and heat. They were hence reduced to different ranks of beings, and doomed to occupy different stations, more or less exalted or depressed, according to their acquired character and habits;

* All beings endowed with reason; including, according to Jerome, 'the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Angels, Powers, Dominations, and other Virtues'; all these, says Jerome, he asserted to be of one substance, though, at other times, he would not allow the Son to be of the same substance with the Father, dreading the appearance of impiety. Epist. 95, ad Avit. The expression, 'of one substance,' or one essence, which is here employed by Origen, in reference to God, angels, and the souls of men, is deserving of notice, as it is precisely that which is often employed by the Fathers in speaking of God and the Son. The inference is obvious.

Origen 'does not hesitate' says Jerome, 'to ascribe the nature of the omnipotent God to angels and men.' And why should he refuse to ascribe it to the Son? Yet he did sometimes refuse to a principle of piety, so careful was he not to infringe the Divine Unity.

and this visible, material world, was created for their reception.

Some were placed in the bodies of the sun and stars, and were appointed to the noble office of enlightening and adorning the universe, and continue to shine with greater or less splendor, according to their moral merits. The stars are thus animated, endowed with reason, and have partaken of sin. They receive the commands of God, and move in their prescribed courses; they still retain the attribute of freedom; their virtue is capable of increase or diminution, and they will hereafter be judged. They are able, by their positions and aspects, to prefigure future events; and apostate spirits, deriving their knowledge from them, transmitted the arts of astrology to man.*

Of others, was formed the community of angels, who, according to Origen, are clothed with light, ethereal vehicles, to which, in consistency with the philosophical tenets in which he was reared, he seemed inclined to add bodies of a grosser sort, thus making them compound beings, like man, consisting of body and soul. He assigns them various offices. He sometimes speaks of each individual of our race, as constantly attended by a good and bad angel. Christians, especially, enjoy the benefit of a tutelar spirit, but whether appointed at their birth, or baptism, he does not afford us the means of determining. Some preside over communities, and churches, and hence we hear of the 'angels of the churches,' in the Revelation; some over inanimate objects, the operations of nature, human inventions, and arts; over plants and animals; each having received the charge for which he is, by disposition, best fitted, regard being had to his merit or demerit in a preëxistent state. Thus Raphael is the patron of the medical art; to Gabriel are assigned the affairs of war; and to Michael, for his piety, the offering of the prayers of the saints. † They assist in transmitting souls into bodies, in disengaging them at death, in conducting them to judgment. Like the souls of stars, they retain their freedom, and will be rewarded or punished, for the use or abuse of their liberty. Finally, they are entitled to a degree of reverence and worship, corresponding to their nature and offices, though we must be careful not to confound the regard which is their due, with

* Comment. in Gen. Opp. T. II. p. 9.

† De Princip. L. I. c. 8.

the supreme adoration due to God, who alone is to be addressed in prayer.*

The more guilty spirits were depressed into the rank of demons, who possess bodies far grosser than those of angels, as, in their prior state, they contracted greater impurity. These, too, retain their moral liberty, are still capable of virtue, and may yet

‘reascend,
Self-raised, and repossess their native seat.’

Others were destined to become human souls, and, for the punishment of their sins, were imprisoned in bodies of flesh, and are subjected to the discipline best fitted for their recovery.

Such, according to this Father, is the general system of rational natures. All existed in a prior state; all were made capable of virtue or vice, but, abusing their liberty, were degraded from a superior to inferior orders of beings. Some became angels, and some demons; some the souls of sun, moon, and stars; and some were imprisoned in bodies of flesh.† The present condition of all, is the result of their conduct in a former state of trial; it is a state of punishment and continued probation; they are still capable of recovering themselves, are still free. By new sin, or new virtue, they may be still further depressed, or rise; they may regain a higher order, and again relapse, and sink; from men become angels, and from angels, men.

We are now prepared to resume the subject of the *extent* of the benefits ascribed by Origen to the death of the Saviour.

* From the above account of the offices attributed to angels, we perceive how completely the heathen notion of tutelar spirits and genii was transferred to Christianity. According to the splendid mythology of the Pagans, every grove, temple, stream, and fountain, all seasons and arts, business and pleasure, had their presiding deities. Christianity banished these false divinities from the earth, but in the theology of the Fathers, angels succeeded to their places. All the operations of Providence were supposed to be performed by their ministrations, and they became objects of reverence, as the guardian divinities of the heathen had been before them.

† To Origen's general principle, that the souls of men were shut up in bodies as a punishment for sins committed in a preëxistent state, he admits a few exceptions. These are cases of men of distinguished sanctity, who have lived in times past, and whose souls were, in fact, angels, sent on an extraordinary legation, as in the case of John, to testify to the truth, and conduct men to virtue and happiness.

On this subject, subsequent Fathers preferred against him many and grievous complaints. Thus he maintained, it is said, that Christ suffered for the redemption of all rational natures, including the souls of men, angels, demons, sun, moon, and stars. He asserted, says Theophilus of Alexandria,* that Christ was 'fixed to the cross for demons and wicked spirits above'; and Jerome accuses him of saying, that he had 'often suffered, and would suffer in the air, and places above, for the salvation of demons.'† Theophilus complains, that he would save even 'the devil,' and in the language of the prophet,‡ calls on the heavens 'to be astonished, and to be horribly afraid,' at such daring impiety!

But let us consult Origen himself. In his tenth homily on Luke, he says expressly, that the advent of Christ 'profited celestials,' § and, in support of the assertion, refers to Colos. i. 20. In his first homily on Leviticus, he speaks of a 'double sacrifice,' and 'double victim,' of the blood of Christ sprinkled on the earthly, and also on the 'supernal' altar; and he asserts explicitly, that he was 'offered a victim, not only for terrestrial, but also for celestial beings,' || and more to the same purpose. Again, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, he says, 'So great was the efficacy of Christ's cross and death, that it was sufficient not only for the human race, but for celestial powers and orders. For, according to the sentiment of the Apostle Paul, Christ pacificated, by the blood of his cross, not only "things in earth," but also "things in heaven,"' ¶ that is, angels, sun, moon, and stars. Again, 'He is the great high priest, who offered himself not only for men, but also for every being partaking of reason;—he died not only for men, but likewise for other rational beings; he tasted death for every creature; for it is absurd to say, that he tasted death for human sins, but not also for whatever other beings, besides man, have committed sin; for example, for the stars, the stars not being pure in his sight, as we read in Job, xxv. 5, "Yea, even the stars are not pure in his sight," unless perchance this is said hyperbol-

* Lib. Pasch. ii.

† Apol. ad Ruf. L. i. & Epist. 94, al. 59, ad Avit.

‡ Jeremiah, ii. 12.

§ Opp. T. iii. p. 943.

|| Opp. T. ii. p. 186.

¶ Opp. T. iv. p. 568. The passage of St. Paul is that above alluded to, Colos. i. 20.

ically.* Such, according to Origen, was the extent of the redemption through Christ.

It may well be doubted whether there is any solid foundation for the other part of the accusation brought against him by Theophilus, Jerome, and others, that he believed that Christ had repeatedly suffered, or would suffer, in the heavens and in the air. This doctrine is not expressly taught in any of his writings now extant, and the contrary seems to be often implied. True, he alludes to an offering in the heavens, but apparently speaks of it as accompanying his sacrifice on earth, and not as an act to be repeated.

With regard to the points afterwards agitated during the famous Pelagian controversy, the authority of Origen, as well as that of all preceding Fathers, could be adduced in opposition to the Augustinian doctrines. These doctrines seem to have been regarded as a novelty at the time; and many of those, who condemned the opinions of Pelagius, were not prepared to adopt, in full extent, the views of his celebrated antagonist. Origen has been called the father of Pelagianism, and certainly the germ and substance of the Pelagian doctrines are found in his writings.

His views of the effects of Adam's sin were censured by the orthodox of subsequent ages, but were apparently in unison with the opinions of the church at the time he wrote. He has the phrase 'sin of nativity,' and speaks of the 'similitude of Adam's transgression, not only derived from birth, but contracted,' but in what sense he understood these, and similar expressions, is matter of doubt; certainly not in the modern. He had no notion of any such consequences attending Adam's transgression, as have been ascribed to it in orthodox systems from the time of Augustine down to the present day. In a moral view, he seems, in fact, hardly to attribute any thing to the fall, and in his general reasoning, does not distinguish between what is called a 'state of fallen nature,' and a state of primitive integrity, at least so far as the sin of our first parents is concerned. All souls, he supposed, sinned in a preëxisting state, and consequently came into the world under certain disadvantages. But they are subjected to these disadvantages, not by the disobedience of Adam, but by the guilt contracted, by our abuse of liberty, in a prior state.

* Comment. in Joan. T. i. Opp. T. iv. pp. 41, 42. See also Comment. in Matt. T. iii. pp. 380, 381.

Origen allows to the soul, in its fallen state, the most perfect freedom and moral ability; the power to choose and pursue virtue, and reject and fly from sin, and this power is retained by demons, and even the devil. Good, as well as evil motives, originate in the heart. To live well, is 'our own work,' the result of our own volitions and efforts; 'God demands it of us, not as his work, but as our own.' And he goes on to show, from numerous texts of the Old and New Testament, that it is in our power to live as God requires, and that 'we are the cause of our perdition or salvation.' He then proceeds to explain certain passages, which, it seems, were adduced by some heretics of the Oriental, or Gnostic sects, to establish a different doctrine; and these, it is deserving of notice, are precisely those, which, in modern times, have been brought to prove that our goodness is the work of God, and not of ourselves; that it is the result of the special agency of his spirit, and not primarily of our own volitions. On all these he puts a construction, which would now be called decidedly Arminian. The passages referred to are, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, *Exod. iv. 21*; the taking away a heart of stone, and giving a heart of flesh, *Ezek. xi. 19*; 'It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy,' *Rom. ix. 16*; 'He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth,' and the following verses, containing the illustration of the potter and the clay, *Rom. ix. 18-23*; and some others. All these, he so explains as to leave man entire freedom and ability, moral as well as physical, to do good or evil, and make sin or virtue his own act. He attributes to God not our volition, but only the power of volition. Thus, in explaining the phrase, 'To will, and to do, is of God,' as he quotes, *Phil. ii. 13*, he observes, 'The Apostle does not say, that to will good or evil, and to do better or worse, are of God, but only generally to will, and to perform,' that is, the power to will and to perform. He draws an illustration from the power of motion. That we are capable of motion, he says, is of God, but the particular direction of our motions depends on ourselves; so 'we receive of God the power to will, but we may use this power for good or for evil, as also the power to perform.' *

* *De Princip. L. III. c. 1. De Arbitrii Libertate.*

Origen speaks in general terms of the necessity of divine grace, to enable us to attain to the perfection of the Christian character, but it was his belief that this grace is granted as the reward of our goodness, that it is in no sense the exciting cause, and that the measure of it is determined by the exercise of our own wills, that is, it is bestowed in proportion to our previous merits, and not by an arbitrary act of God's sovereignty. He seems afraid, almost, of attributing too much to God's agency. Holiness originates in our own wills; we must sow the seeds, but, the plant once introduced, God fosters and cherishes it.

God thus grants the assistance of his spirit, as Origen supposed, in proportion to our merits, and in consideration of them. But in our merits, are included the good actions done in a preëxistent state, as well as those performed in the present; so that God may make a distinction between one and another, bestowing his grace on one, and withholding it from another, loving one, and hating another, before they 'have done good or evil,' that is, in the present life, as in the case of Jacob and Esau. Rom. ix. 11 - 13.*

Origen admits of no unconditional election, but makes predestination depend altogether on our works foreseen. † God is said to make 'one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor'; but the cause, says Origen, is in ourselves. He who purges himself from impurity, is made a vessel of honor; he who suffers himself to remain polluted with sin, is made a vessel to dishonor. 'Each one is made by God a vessel of honor, or of dishonor, according to his merits' in this, or a preëxistent state. 'It is just,' he adds, 'and in every respect agreeable to piety, that each one should be made a vessel of honor, or of dishonor, from *preceding causes*,' and these, he insists, are our merits, our actions. These, foreseen, are the ground, and the only ground, of predestination. ‡

We have treated of the opinions of Origen, relating to the past and present character and condition of rational natures, and especially man. We now turn to his representation of the future.

His views of the resurrection have been a subject of con-

* De Princip. L. III. c. 1. Also Lib. I. c. 7.

† Huet. Orig. Lib. II. c. 2. Quæst. 7.

‡ De Princip. L. III. c. 1. Comment. in Rom. Lib. I. VII. Opp. T. IV. pp. 464, 604, 616.

troversy. He was accused by several subsequent Fathers, and by Jerome among the rest, of denying it in reality, and retaining only the name. And if by the resurrection we are to understand the restoration of the flesh of the present body in substance and figure, he undoubtedly did deny it, thinking with St. Paul, that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.' He could, in consistency with himself, entertain no other opinion. For, according to his system, the flesh is the prison-house of the soul, which it is doomed to occupy for the punishment of its sins. All spirits become clothed with bodies more or less gross, according to their degree of moral pollution. They remain, however, in a state of discipline, and may be restored. When they shall have purified themselves from their stains, and regained their pristine beauty and excellence, they will drop the incumbrance of their material or fleshy chains, and become once more subtle and ethereal. So Origen undoubtedly thought. The souls of the faithful, at death, will part for ever with their present earthly and corruptible integuments; the body, compacted as it now is, will not be restored; it will rise, but other and different, more pure and splendid. The present is but the germ of the future, according to the illustration of Paul, who says, 'it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.'

With regard to the form of the future body, it has been generally inferred, from the manner in which Origen has expressed himself, and from the analogy of his system, that he regarded it as round. Such is the figure esteemed most perfect; such that of the heavenly bodies, those more glorious intelligences; and such, as he seems to have supposed, will be ours, though he has not, we believe, directly asserted it in any of his writings we now possess. Certain it is, that his followers professed to have derived the doctrine from him, and it was prevalent among the Origenian monks of Palestine, in the time of Justinian.*

Origen believed in the final restoration of all beings to virtue and happiness. All are subjected to influences, which, sooner or later, will prove successful. Superior orders of

* Among the anathemas subjoined to his Letter to Menas, on the subject of the errors of Origen, is the following; 'Whoever says, or thinks, that our bodies will be raised spherical, and not erect, let him be anathema.'

intelligences are appointed to instruct, guide, and perfect the lower. Of the glorious spirits, who have imitated the divine perfections, some, as the reward of their merits, are placed in the 'order of angels, others of virtues, others of principalities, others of powers, because they exercise power over those who require to be in subjection; others of thrones, exercising the office of judging and directing those who have need.' To the care and rule of these noble orders, the race of man is subjected, and, using their assistance, and reformed by their salutary instructions and discipline, will, in some future, though perhaps, distant age, be restored to their primitive state of felicity.*

The sufferings of a future life, as Origen taught, are all piacular and remedial. We shall all, he says, be subjected to trial by fire. But those who have few impurities, and many virtues, will escape with slight pain; but the fire will take hold of the wicked, and their iniquities will be burned, and their evil affections purged away. Some, however, in consequence of inveterate habits of sin, will be reserved to a great intensity and long continuance of suffering.†

So he sometimes expresses himself. But in other parts of his writings, he is careful to teach us, that this, and similar language, is altogether metaphorical. By the fire, which shall burn the wicked, he tells us, is meant the worm of conscience. The evil of their whole lives will, by an act of divine power, be vividly presented to their thoughts. The picture of all the wrong they have done, or intended, will be spread out before their eyes; forgotten things will be remembered, and they will have a horrible consciousness of guilt. This is the flame by which they are to be tormented, not an outward and material, but an inward fire, of which their sins furnish the fuel, just as the peccant humors of the body, consequent upon excess and repletion, furnish the fuel of fever.‡ These humors may be purged away, and the patient restored, after a season of suffering. Just so with regard to the impurities of sin, which occasion so much anguish. By the salutary discipline of suffering, the soul may, and will, be cleansed

* De Princip. L. i. c. 6. Jerome, Epist. 94, ad Avitum.

† Exod. Hom. vi. Opp. T. ii. p. 148. In Psal. 36. Hom. iii. Opp. T. ii. p. 664.

‡ De Princip. Lib. ii. c. 10. Jerome, Epist. ad Av. 94.

from them. Such is its design, such its tendency, and such will be its result. All will be chastised exactly in proportion to their demerit, but their sufferings will have an end, and all will be finally restored to purity and to love. This, Origen repeatedly asserts.

The end and consummation of all things, he observes, is the perfection and happiness of all. 'To this one end,' condition, or state, he says, 'we think that the goodness of God, through his Christ, will recall his universal creation, all things becoming finally subjected to Christ. "For all things must be subject to him."*' Now, what is this subjection,' he asks, 'with which all things must be subject to Christ? I think, the same with which we also desire to be subject to him, with which the Apostles, and all the saints, who have followed Christ, are subject to him. For the very term subjection, in this case, implies, that they who are subject, have obtained the salvation which is of Christ.' Then it is, that 'Christ himself shall also be subject to the Father, with and in those who have been made subject.' This, he observes, is asserted by the Apostle, when he says, 'And when all things shall be subdued to him, then shall the Son, also, himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.' And this subjection of all Christ's enemies to himself, as that of himself to the Father, Origen contends, 'is a good and salutary' subjection; if the latter is such, the former is so too, and hence, 'as, when it is said, the Son is subject to the Father, the perfect restitution of the universal creation is declared, so when the enemies of the Son are said to be subject to him, the salvation, through him, of those subject, and the restitution of the lost, are implied.' †

Again, in his seventh homily on Leviticus, he contends, that subjection to Christ implies subjection of the will and affections, and that as long as any thing remains opposed to him, in other words, as long as there is sin, his work is not consummated. 'But,' he adds, 'when he shall have consummated his work, and brought his universal creation to the summit of perfection, then he himself shall be subject in those, whom he has subdued to the Father, and in whom he has consummated the work which the Father gave him to do, that God may be all in all.' ‡

* 1 Cor. xv. 24 — 28.

† De Princip. L. i. c. 6. Lib. iii. c. 5.

‡ Opp. T. ii. p. 222.

Such, according to Origen, will be the end, or final consummation of all things. His train of reasoning throughout, as it will be perceived, implies his belief of the final restoration and happiness, not merely of the human race, but of all rational natures, including demons, and fallen spirits of darkness, otherwise the universal creation could not be said to be subjected and made perfect. When, in connexion with the train of reasoning above exhibited, we take the fact before stated, that he supposed Christ died for the heavenly hosts, and for demons, for all rational beings who had sinned, we cannot doubt that such was his belief. Such it was understood to have been, in the time of Theophilus above referred to, and of Jerome, both of whom make it one of the capital articles in the catalogue of his heresies, that he taught that 'the devil' would be finally saved. In fact, there are passages in his writings, which appear expressly to inculcate this doctrine. Thus, he observes, 'The last enemy, which is called death, is spoken of as destroyed.' By death, it seems, he understood the devil, or 'him that had the power of death,' Heb. ii. 14; and he proceeds to explain what is meant by his destruction. 'The last enemy,' he says, 'is not to be understood as so destroyed, that his substance, which was derived from God, shall perish; but only that his malignant will and purpose, which proceeded not from God, but from himself, shall cease to exist. He shall be destroyed, therefore, not so that he shall not continue to be, but so that he shall not continue to be an enemy, and death.'* Nothing more needs be said, to show that a belief of the final restoration of all fallen beings formed part of the creed of Origen.† The more deeply fallen, however, will be subjected, as he taught, to protracted and severe sufferings, and God alone knows their termination. But all will mount, step by step, till they attain 'to the invisible and eternal state, some in the first, some in the second, and some in the last ages; corrected and reformed, by rigorous discipline and very great and grievous punishments, by the instructions of angels, and afterwards by superior orders of intelligences.'

The rewards of the blessed, Origen makes to consist in an intimate union, or oneness, with God, according to the prayer

* De Princip. L. III. c. 6. See also Lib. I. c. 6.

† See on this point the Letter of Jerome already repeatedly referred to.

of Christ, John xvii, 21 – 24. They do not, however, rise to the summit of this felicity at once, but through several successive steps, as first by knowledge and instruction, which remove the darkness of their understandings, then by being brought into a moral resemblance to God, then by being taken into union with him, in which consists the supreme good. This union is explained as a union of affection, will, and purpose. The soul, on leaving the body, is first conducted, as he tells us, to a part of the earth called Paradise,* where it remains for some time, enjoying the instruction of angels, and gradually depositing its earthly concretions. It then mounts into the air, and afterwards into various regions of the heavens, continuing in these several places, under different masters of the superior orders of intelligences, for a longer or shorter term, according to the degree of impurity to be purged off, till, by various progressions, it reaches the invisible and incorporeal heavens, where God resides, where, as we have said, it becomes united with him, as in its first state of felicity and love, and he becomes ‘all in all,’ dwelling in all, and all in him. Matter will then become spiritualized, and be reabsorbed in God, from whom it flowed. Thus all ends where all began;

‘From thee, great God, we spring, to thee we tend.’

Such was Origen’s great system, yet he occasionally expresses views which appear in some respects to militate against it. Thus he seems to say that there will be perpetual lapses and returns, from sin to holiness, and from superior orders of beings to inferior, and the reverse, in consequence

* It is curious to observe, that Origen, while he places Eden or the terrestrial Paradise, in the third heavens, imagining that by Adam and Eve dwelling in it, we are to understand souls residing in heaven, and by their expulsion, the exile of souls, doomed, as the punishment of sin, to be clothed with bodies, he supposes the future, or celestial Paradise, to be situated somewhere on the earth. ‘I think,’ says he, ‘that saints departing this life, will remain in a certain part of the earth called in the Scriptures Paradise, as in a school of instruction.’ The same, he supposed, was intended by ‘Abraham’s bosom.’ Here, all which they have witnessed on earth, is to be explained to them, and they are to receive revelations of the future not now permitted. This place, the more pure will soon leave, and mount through various mansions, called by the Greeks, spheres, but in the Scriptures, heavens. *De Princip. L. II. c. 11. § 6.*

of that moral liberty, which all will retain, and which they may for ever use or abuse. Thus Peter may, at some future time, become a Judas, and Judas a Peter; Paul a Caiaphas, and Caiaphas, Paul; men may become angels or demons, and angels or demons, men; demons and angels may change characters; the devil may become an archangel, and archangels devils, all things mingling and revolving in unceasing succession. Upon this hypothesis, there can be no fixed condition, either of happiness or suffering; neither the punishment of the damned, nor the joys of the blessed, are necessarily eternal; all beings are in a state of perpetual progression and retrogression. The material universe will undergo corresponding changes. There was a succession of worlds before the present, and will be a succession after it, the new springing from the old, as the bird of fable from the ashes of its sire. Souls will fall into sin, and, for their punishment, must be again imprisoned in gross bodies; and this will always create a necessity for the existence of matter, which will be absorbed and produced, reabsorbed and reproduced, in successive and never-ending periods.* It may well be doubted, however, whether such was Origen's fixed opinion. On many points, he is uncertain and vacillating. But with regard to the final restoration of all beings to a union with the fountain of Divinity, when Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father, and God shall be all in all, he is clear and express. He often recurs to the topic, and his views on the subject are fully unfolded. We may be pardoned, if we hesitate to admit, upon the evidence of a few slight expressions, his belief of a doctrine, which, in opposition to the general tenor of his reasonings, teaches that sin shall never be abolished, and the time will never come, when 'all things shall be subdued to the Son,' and all shall be 'of one heart, and of one mind.' It would be no easy task, however, to defend Origen against the charge of inconsistency and self-contradiction. It was his fate to lose himself in the mazes of a wild and wandering philosophy. How deeply he had drunken into its spirit, the foregoing summary of his *Opinions*, abundantly shows. We mean not to be his apologist. Our aim has been, to be, simply, the historian of his opinions, not to combat or defend them.

* *De Princip. L. i. c. 6.* Jerome, ad Avitum.

We have now done with our enumeration. Is it asked, to what does all this labor tend? These are but the opinions of an individual; in what way do they concern us? We can only say, in reply, they form a chapter in the history of the human mind. They illustrate the modes of thinking and reasoning in former times. Above all, they make us acquainted with the source and progress of those corruptions of the Christian doctrine, the effects of which we still witness and deplore. They show us that the great principle of the divine unity, the foundation stone of both the Jewish and Christian dispensations, was, however, as yet, held sacred, though errors were creeping in, which were destined soon to overshadow it. They show us, that doctrines, now esteemed by many the chief glory of Christianity, doctrines illustrated and defended by the acuteness and eloquence of our Calvins and Edwardses, our Princeton and our Andover Theologians, doctrines, without the belief of which, we are gravely told that we have no title to the name of Christ's followers, were unknown to Christian antiquity; that the sects, which came nearest embracing these doctrines, were certain heretics of the Gnostic school. We thus derive from them, both admonition and solace; we derive, also, lessons of forbearance and charity, and we learn to pity the spirit of exclusion, denunciation, and bitterness, which has been justly pronounced 'one of the gross immoralities of our times.'

It is humiliating to reflect, that however the improved philosophy of the age has led us to reject many of the strange opinions of the Fathers, yet in freedom of discussion, independence of thought, and latitude of sentiment and expression, they were greatly in advance of modern times. There was less of narrowness and bigotry then, vastly less, than now. We smile at their errors, and their violent contentions about things, as we think, of little moment; but we should do well to take example of their piety, and often, indeed, of their charity. Judged by the standard set up by the exclusivists of the present day, nearly all the Christian writers, for three centuries after the birth of the Saviour, must descend to take their place in the rank of infidels. So has Christian charity become narrowed.

The fate of the Origenian doctrines, after the brilliant, but erratic spirit, which had contributed to give them currency, had been withdrawn from the earth, is exceedingly interest-

ing. The storm raised against him, during his life, as has been already shown,* had no reference whatever to doctrine; nor have we any evidence that his orthodoxy was formally impugned, until long after his death.† The first writer, who ventured to censure the doctrines of Origen, after his decease, as we are informed by Socrates, the historian,‡ was Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia, afterwards of Tyre, who died early in the fourth century, fifty years after Origen left the world. He wrote a book on the Resurrection, against Origen, and another, says Jerome,§ on 'the Pythoness,' 1 Sam. xxviii. The attack on Origen, however, seems to have been deemed a rash one. Origen's writings were now held in unbounded admiration, and Methodius found it convenient to recant.

Origen's reputation for orthodoxy continued unsullied, till the celebrated Arian controversy broke out, when he was claimed by both parties, though his opinions coincided with neither. The Arians could, of right, claim him, as asserting that the Son was inferior to the Father, and born in time, but not as affirming that he was made out of nothing, which was their distinguishing dogma. The Athanasians could claim him, as asserting, with the Ante-Nicene Fathers generally,

* See *The Christian Examiner* for July, 1831, p. 315.

† We are aware that Eusebius, *Lib. vi. c. 36*, alludes to a letter written by Origen to Fabian, Bishop of Rome, 'concerning his own orthodoxy,' which would seem to imply that it was by some drawn into suspicion; but on what points, we are not told. The matter appears to have produced no excitement. If so, it was soon allayed. Among the charges brought against him by his enemies at Alexandria, in consequence of which he was deposed and banished, not one related to doctrine; which is sufficient evidence that he was not regarded as deviating, in any essential particular, from the popular faith.

Again, in the fragment of a letter to some Alexandrian friends, still extant, he speaks of those who ascribed to him blasphemous doctrine; but this was said, as it appears from the letter, in reference to some books, which had been wholly, or in part, forged in his name, and circulated by heretics. It was these books which contained the blasphemous doctrine. To one charge, however, he distinctly alludes, and to one only, and that relates to the salvation of the devil. See *Opp. T. i. pp. 5, 6.*

‡ *Lib. vi. c. 13.*

§ *Col. Script. Eccles.* Jerome also mentions a treatise of Methodius on 'Free Will.' This, it seems, was written in the form of a dialogue between a Valentinian and a Catholic, and was designed to prove, that evil arises from abuse of liberty in free agents, which was also the doctrine of Origen.

that he had an existence from eternity, not *with*, but *in*, the Father, not as a real being, or person, but an attribute. On the whole, the orthodox had, at this time, receded further from the views of Origen, if not in letter, at least in spirit, than the Arians. The former, however, regarded him as too important an ally to be surrendered. They continued to defend him as long as with decency they could, and even Athanasius quotes him with approbation. From this time, however, Origen had a strong party against him, though his friends and admirers were yet numerous, and many of them among the most learned and accomplished writers of the age. Eusebius and Pamphilus, with a tender regard for his memory, composed an Apology for him, in six books, and his writings were collected and deposited in the Library at Cæsarea.*

It appears, then, that the soundness of Origen's opinions on the subject of the Trinity, first began to be called in question after the rise of Arianism. But the defection from him was by no means general, even then. The majority, even, of the orthodox, were still friendly to his memory. Socrates, it is curious to observe, after mentioning some authors, who had written against him down to the close of the fourth century, says, that though they collected whatever they supposed blameworthy in Origen, some mentioning one thing, and some another, yet they found no fault with him on the subject of the Trinity.† This assertion, we suppose, must be taken with some qualification. From the days of Arius,

* In this Apology, nine charges are mentioned as brought against him by his enemies. Some of these, however, are evidently unfounded, and a part inconsistent with the rest. Thus he was accused of saying, that 'the Son of God was not begotten'; of retailing the fabulous opinions of Valentinus, concerning his birth; of maintaining, with Artemon and Paul of Samosata, that he was a mere man; of saying that the account of him, given by the Evangelists, is a mere allegory, and not a history of events that actually occurred; of asserting that there were two Christs; of allegorizing, generally, the lives of the saints recorded in the Scriptures; of holding some unsound opinions concerning the resurrection of the dead, and of denying that sinners will be punished; of entertaining erroneous views of the state of the soul; and, lastly, of maintaining that human souls will hereafter pass into the bodies of beasts, fishes, and serpents. It requires but a very superficial acquaintance with the writings of Origen, to convince any person that these charges are, with one or two exceptions, wholly unfounded.

† L. VI. c. 13.

however, down to the time of Theophilus the Alexandrian, and Epiphanius, near the close of the fourth century, the adherents and friends of Origen formed a very large proportion of Christians. Another tempest then arose, more violent than the former. The monks of Egypt and Palestine were at this time decided Origenists. Theophilus having embroiled himself in a dispute with some of the former, who inhabited the monasteries of Nitria, assembled a Provincial Synod at Alexandria, about the year 400, in which to gratify, as it would seem, a passion of revenge, or hatred, he caused the writings of their favorite, Origen, to be condemned a century and a half after his death. This is the first time sentence of condemnation was pronounced against the errors of Origen by a Synod. Theophilus, who had a talent for intrigue, immediately wrote to the bishops generally, and to Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, in particular, urging him to the same step. The latter, duped by the arts of the wily Egyptian, called a council of the Cyprian bishops, who proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation, both on Origen and his writings. This controversy, which was long and fierce, involved John, bishop of Jerusalem, and John Chrysostom, of Constantinople, both favorers of Origen, also Rufinus and Jerome, who were soon engaged in terrific battle. In fact, the whole East and West were now shaken with tremendous commotions.* Theophilus boasts, that he had 'truncated the serpents of Origen with the evangelic sword.' Epiphanius adds, 'Amalek is destroyed,' and boasts that he will sweep the heresy of Origen from the face of the earth. Jerome swells the note of triumph. 'Where now,' he asks, 'is the crooked serpent, where the venomous vipers?'

We may give, as a specimen of the hate engendered by this controversy, the parting words which passed between John Chrysostom of Constantinople, and Epiphanius, when the latter, after a violent altercation, was about to leave Constantinople for Cyprus. 'May you not die a bishop,' says Epiphanius to John. 'May you never live to reach home,' retorts the golden-mouthed John. The wishes of both were

* See Jerome, *Epist.* 38, al 61. ad Pammach. Also *Epist.* 39, al 62. ad Theoph., with other Letters of Jerome to Theophilus, and of Theophilus and Epiphanius to Jerome. Jerome, *Opp.* T. iv. Ed. Par. 1706. Socrates. L. vi. c. 10. Huet. Orig. L. ii. c. 4.

granted. Chrysostom was soon after deposed, and died in exile, A. D. 407, and Epiphanius, having embarked for Cyprus, died on the passage, A. D. 403. Theophilus, who had rendered himself odious by the indulgence of his violent and revengeful passions, died A. D. 412. On his death-bed, as tradition says, he expressed great remorse, and the ghost of the injured Chrysostom, whose downfall had been procured chiefly by his machinations, standing at his pillow, shook his soul with terror.

Though Origenism had now received some heavy blows, it yet gave symptoms of life. The publication of a translation of Origen's books 'Of Principles,' at Rome, by Rufinus, had been the occasion of awakening the spirit of Pelagius, whose doctrines were, in fact, only a certain modification of Origenism. Anastasius, however, the first Pope of the name, had condemned Rufinus for heresy, and passed sentence against Origen and his writings; and the friends of his name and doctrines had certainly some reason to indulge desponding anticipations.

This explosion past, a long period of comparative quiet followed. Meantime, Origenism found shelter in the monasteries of Palestine, where, a little more than a century after, it continued to prevail to an alarming extent. Complaints were made to the Emperor Justinian, who caused sentence of anathema to be pronounced against Origen by several bishops, among whom were Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople, Ephrem of Antioch, Peter, bishop of Jerusalem, and Vigilius of Rome, about the year 538. This sentence was confirmed by the fifth General Council, holden at Constantinople, A. D. 553; * and again by the sixth, holden also at Constantinople, A. D. 680. The acts of this Council were confirmed by Pope Leo II. A. D. 683, and thus Origen was formally placed in the rank of heretics. His works are still, however, permitted to be perused by Catholics, with a *Caute lege*, in the margin, against the offensive passages, to put the reader on his guard.

The grand principle of human liberty, for which he was so strenuous an advocate, has never been banished from the minds of Christians. The opposers of Augustine, in former

* See Evagrius, Eccles. Hist. L. iv. c. 38, and Valesius' note. Huet. Orig. L. ii. c. 4, § 3.

days, and of Calvin, in modern times, have necessarily occupied the ground of Origen, and the Fathers of his age. Augustine himself took this ground, in his attempt to refute the tenets of the Manichæans, though, in opposing the doctrines of Pelagius, he was compelled to change it. In fact, the views of human ability, or rather inability, as taught in the schools of the African bishop, of Calvin, and the Orthodox generally of modern times, amount, in substance, to Manichæism, and differ from it only as to the source of the inability; the Manichæans attributing it to a prior necessity, growing out of the nature of matter, and the Calvinists to a necessity superinduced by the fall of Adam. To all practical purposes, the two systems are the same.*

ART. III. — *Causes and Evils of Contentions unveiled in Letters to Christians.* By NOAH WORCESTER. Boston. Gray & Bowen. 1831. 12mo. pp. 120.

THERE is no man living, from whom Christians, of all denominations, should receive rebuke with so much meekness, as from the venerable author of these Letters, the Apostle of Peace. He is, himself, an illustration of the possibility of uniting freedom of inquiry, and great distinctness and earnestness in the exposure of what he conceives to be prevalent errors, with a candor and simplicity so beautiful and touching, that those who read his writings, if they are not convinced, can hardly fail of being softened and conciliated. It is not his object, in the little volume before us, to condemn or discourage controversy, but merely to unveil the causes

* Augustine, it should be remembered, was a Manichæan before his conversion to the orthodox faith. How far he retained the *spirit* of Manichæism, after his formal rejection of its leading dogma relating to the origin of evil, — in other words, to what extent his sentiments, after his conversion, continued to be modified by his earlier belief, and what portion of Manichæism became, therefore, infused into the popular theology, forms a curious question in the history of human opinions. Is Calvinism, after all, only a ramification of the old Oriental heresy, so detested by the Fathers?

and evils of that exclusive and contentious spirit, with which controversy is sometimes conducted. He does not write as a sectarian, nor evince a wish, in any part of his work, to cast the blame of our contentions on Christians of one denomination, rather than on those of another. His last words are these ;

‘Let it then be observed, that I have written the letters in the belief that there are errors — both of opinion and practice, in all the denominations of Christians with which I am acquainted ; and in the hope that there are good people in each sect, who will deplore the existing evils, and exert their influence to effect a reformation.’ — p. 120.

He says, also, in another place ;

‘To some persons, it may be gratifying to know, that the views I have expressed, in this series of letters, on the evil and danger of ascribing error of opinion to wickedness of heart, are not the effect of recent changes in my own mind. When I was a Trinitarian, and nearly forty years ago, I published similar views of that principle in what I then wrote to the late Dr. Baldwin, on the subject of “Close Communion.” Very soon after I entered on the work of the ministry, I became dissatisfied with the practice of referring all error of opinion, on religious subjects, to a criminal source ; and also with the practice of reproaching whole sects of Christians as destitute of piety, on the ground of their alleged erroneous opinions. The more I have reflected on the subject since that period, the more I have been convinced of the injustice and the danger of such practices. The more, too, I have been convinced that such practices imply a deplorable want of humility in those who adopt them, and an astonishing degree of blindness in regard to their own liability to err.’ — p. 116.

Dr. Worcester holds that a primary ground of alienation, among Christians, is to be found in the assumption, ‘that error of opinion, on religious subjects, proceeds from wickedness of heart.’ We suspect, however, that even where this is the ostensible ground of alienation, we are still, in most cases, to look deeper for the real grounds. These, nine times out of ten, are some, or all, of the following ; pride of opinion, desire of influence, love of notoriety, party policy or zeal, private interest or pique. Unhappily, not a few of the leaders of the exclusive sects know, that they owe most of their consequence and influence to existing differences and contentions, and would sink personally into comparative in-

significance, in the event of a better understanding among Christians. So long as this is the case, we may expect that persons of considerable ability, as disorganizers, will every where be found, whose object it will be, under various pretexts, to foment and perpetuate divisions in the Church, rather than to heal them. Here we detect a real, deep-seated, and, as it seems to us, in a community like ours, almost the only obstacle to the prevalence of more liberal and comprehensive principles. It did not fall within Dr. Worcester's plan, and would not, perhaps, have suited his temper, to deal severely with this vice; but he has deprived it of all show of justification or apology, by exposing the fallacy of the assumption on which it proceeds.

In the Fourth Letter, the following important question is met, and answered.

'It being granted that our Lord imputed the error of the unbelieving Jews respecting himself, to a disobedient heart, why may not ministers of the Gospel of the present age, impute all supposed errors on important doctrines to the same source?' — pp. 22, 23.

Because, as Dr. Worcester justly argues, it would be to suppose them clothed with the same infallibility, of but one opinion, and liable to no disturbing prejudices.

'Besides,' says he, 'in civil cases, an *interested* person is deemed unqualified to act as a judge or a juror. So also is the man who is known to be prejudiced against a person or party whose cause is to be decided. How imminent, then, must be the danger, when, after long controversy and excitement, a minister of one sect ventures to assume the office of a judge in respect to the hearts of those who dissent from his creed! Under such circumstances, what reflecting man would dare, unauthorized, to assume such responsibility? How little confidence is to be placed in the censorious opinions mutually expressed of each other by political partizans, in a time of great excitement? Quite as little, I suspect, is to be placed in the opinions of religious partizans under similar circumstances.' — p. 24.

At the same time, he finds no difficulty in accounting for the different opinions which have prevailed in the Church, without referring them, universally or generally, to a corrupt source. The following extract alone would settle the question.

'When children are brought up under the influence of pious parents, who happen to entertain erroneous doctrines, they are

under a kind of necessity of imbibing erroneous opinions. For a child to be thus situated may be a calamity, but not a crime; and it is rather an evidence of an obedient than a disobedient heart, that he imbibes the erroneous opinions of his parents. For he is required to honor father and mother, and a disposition to obey this command, will naturally incline him to listen to parental instruction, and to receive as truth what his parents inculcate as the doctrines of the Gospel. It is as unreasonable as it is cruel, for a Protestant to impute it to wickedness of heart, that the children of Papists grow up strongly attached to the doctrines of the Catholic church. We may as rationally blame a child for not having been born omniscient, or for possessing the spirit of filial love and reverence, as to blame him for receiving, as truth, the erroneous opinions which were inculcated on him by his parents, while it was impossible for him to know that they were incorrect. Let any censorious minister ask himself, what would be his views of others, who should impute it to wickedness of heart, that his children hearken to his instructions, and grow up in the belief of his religious opinions? To whatever denomination a child may belong, the more pious and humble he is, the more likely he is to imbibe the religious opinions of his parents, whether they be correct or erroneous.' — pp. 27, 28.

Again he says;

'The disputes which have divided Christians into sects, have originated in differences of opinion about the meaning of particular passages of Scripture, which were acknowledged to be genuine by each party, — and to be true in the sense intended by the inspired writers. To express the supposed sense of the passages more definitely, has been an object of those who have formed creeds or confessions of faith. Propositions which men have thus formed, have been set up as standards of faith, and as tests of Christian character; and to these, others must give their assent, or be denied Christian privileges. These propositions, of human manufacture, are what their advocates denominate *the truth as it is in Jesus*. Those who refuse their assent to these dogmas, are reproached as enemies to the truth, while they freely admit, as the truth, the very texts of Scripture, on which these articles are supposed to be founded. It seems to have been thought not sufficient for a man to believe the doctrines of the Gospel, as given by the wisdom of God, but he must assent to an edition of these doctrines as *revised and amended*, by the wisdom of self-sufficient men. The "bones of contention" have not been the words of God's wisdom, but the words of man's wisdom; and these words of man's wisdom have

been preferred to the words of God, as standards of truth and tests of character. I think I do not go too far, in saying that these human compositions have been *preferred* to the Bible, for the purposes I have mentioned. If they are not **PREFERRED**, why are they urged, and substituted, as if the Bible were insufficient? I am aware, that those who adopt this course, profess great respect for the Bible, and are not commonly backward to accuse dissenters from their creed of disrespect for the oracles of God. But it seems to me an extraordinary mode of evincing a regard for the Bible, to substitute for it, as a rule of faith, the compositions of fallible and uninspired men.' — pp. 28, 29.

The error here condemned, he illustrates in the next Letter, by two examples, the first drawn from the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the other, from that of vicarious atonement. Both of these doctrines have been accounted essential to Christianity, and a belief in both has been made a test of character, and a condition of salvation. Of those, however, who reject these doctrines, the latter as well as the former, we may suppose that many, as Dr. Worcester shows, have not been influenced by a hatred of the truth, nor by disrespect for Scripture, nor by a denial of the particular texts, in which these doctrines are thought by some to be inculcated or implied; but solely by a different construction honestly put on these texts. He adds, in confirmation of this position;

'Now let it be observed, that in both examples, the words relied on are ambiguous; for there is more than one sense in which they are capable of being understood. As a *portrait*, or *image*, is called by the name of the person represented, so the bread and wine may be called the body and blood of Christ, which are represented by them; and it is well known, that there are several senses in which one person may die for another, or for many others.

'Let it also be observed, that in the first example, Christ did *not* say, This bread is *changed* into my body — nor, This wine is *changed* into my blood. Not a syllable was said by him about any change, or transubstantiation. This idea was *added* to the words of Christ by the framers of the doctrine. So in the second example, Christ did *not* say, I lay down my life as a *vicarious punishment* for my sheep. Nor did his Apostles in any instance say, that Christ endured for us "the wrath of God," or the penalty of the divine law due to our offences. This idea was *added* by the framers of the doctrine of vicarious punish-

ment, just as the idea of *change* was added by the framers of the doctrine of transubstantiation. I have no doubt, that in each case, the framers thought the idea they added, to be implied in the words of Scripture; but this is no proof that it was implied, nor that any man had a right to insert it, as the word of God. It is, however, by thus adding to the words of Scripture what men have supposed to be implied, that numerous propositions have been formed as essential articles of faith. Nor has the mischief of this creed-making policy stopped here. Each sect, after having thus formed its essential articles, have called them *the truth*. Hence, with them, to love the truth, is to love the articles of their creed, formed in the words of man's wisdom; and any one who dissents from these articles, is supposed to be a despiser of the truth, an opposer of the truth, an enemy to the God of truth. Of course, the opposition to these supposed truths, is imputed to depravity of heart. Hence persecution, in various forms, has been practised by one sect of Christians against another. What an awful responsibility does a fallible, uninspired man, take on himself, when he ventures to substitute his own opinion of an ambiguous passage of Scripture for the word of God, and to make that opinion a test by which he may judge the hearts of others! — pp. 35, 36, 37.

In the Eighth Letter, he returns to one of the same illustrations, in discussing the propriety of applying the language of Paul respecting the 'natural man,' to those who differ from us in opinion on religious subjects. His words are remarkable, not only as indicating a serious error, but the character of the men most likely to commit it.

'Two persons are disputing on the words of Christ, "I lay down my life for the sheep." One supposes the words to mean, that he would suffer a vicarious punishment for mankind. The other believes that he died for us, but not in that sense of the words, yet in a sense which he thinks far more to the honor of God. These men happen to be of different characters, as well as of different opinions. One of them is meek and humble; the other self-sufficient — he trusts in himself that he is righteous, and despises others. Now which of these men will be the more likely to account for the difference of opinion, by insinuating that the other is a natural man? In this case, no candid and intelligent person can hesitate for a moment. On which side soever the self-sufficient person may be, as to the meaning of the text, he will be the one to reproach his brother as a "natural man." Candor, however, requires me to admit, that there may have been instances in which good men, in other respects, have

been so bewildered by custom, theory, or party feelings, as to adopt such an unchristian mode of proceeding. But I believe it to be a truth, that such a course is much more frequently resorted to by self-righteous hypocrites, than by men of truly Christian feelings; and that it behooves those who are in the habit of thus accounting for a dissent from their opinions, seriously to inquire how their conduct can be reconciled with gospel love and humility, and whether they are not, in fact, in that deplorable state, which they are so forward to impute to others.' — pp. 54, 55.

Two other striking passages occur in the same Letter, which may be said to put at rest the question he is considering.

'Besides, if the natural man has no perception of the truth, how can he be said to *hate* the truth? Can he hate that which he does not perceive? Should it be said, that it is not the *true* meaning of Scripture that he hates, but a *false* meaning which he gives to the words; what is this but saying, in other words, that it is falsehood, and not truth, that the sinner hates?' — p. 56.

Again;

'In both the Old Testament and the New, the conversion of sinners is represented as the effect of divine truth on their minds. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul. The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple." Psalm xix. 7. "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." 1 Pet. i. 23. Now if the unconverted, as such, are incapable of perceiving the true meaning of Scripture language, and consequently misunderstand it; then it must be by a false meaning of the word that they are converted. Of course, their conversion must be the effect of *falsehood*, and not of *truth*. For they are in an unconverted state till the change occurs; and it is by such views of the word as they have in an unconverted state that they are regenerated, or that the work of regeneration is commenced.' — pp. 59, 60.

Custom, false standards in morals, mistaken notions of duty, and the frequency with which we see the sin, complained of by Dr. Worcester, committed by men of reputed sanctity, have led most persons to form much too low an estimate of its turpitude. He observes, very justly, that,

'It would be in vain to search the Scriptures for more clear prohibitions and expostulations against *murder*, than we have

against *reviling* and *ensorious judging*, on account of differences of opinion ; and is it not a lamentable truth, that in each of the cases, Christians have too commonly regarded custom as of higher authority than the prohibitions of God ? The sixth commandment is, "Thou shalt do no murder" ; but as soon as the rulers of two nations have declared war against each other, murder is regarded as not only lawful, but laudable. So, as soon as the ministers of one sect of Christians have ventured to denounce the people of another sect as heretics, the commands, "Judge not," "Condemn not," "Speak not evil one of another," are treated with as little regard as the sixth commandment is in time of war. As, in time of national hostilities, killing men is deemed a duty, and not a crime, so it is with censorious judging in time of sectarian hostilities ; and, in both cases, the most glaring violations of the divine commands are vindicated, on the principles of necessity and self-preservation.' — pp. 75, 76.

In a characteristic Letter, the Sixteenth, Dr. Worcester compares the vice of party-spirit, in religion, with that of intemperance in the use of ardent spirits, and concludes by recommending, in both cases, the 'total-abstinence principle,' as the only effectual remedy.

'The inquiry naturally occurs, Is there no remedy for party intemperance ? Must the Christian religion be for ever thus disgraced by its professed admirers and votaries. For a time, it seemed a hopeless enterprise to attempt a suppression of the other species of intemperance. Soon, however, a hope was excited, that by due exertions many moderate drinkers might be induced to give up their habit before they should pass the bounds of temperance ; and that many might be saved from forming the habit of moderate drinking. It was hardly expected that men might be reclaimed who had advanced far in the road of intoxication. Their case was deemed nearly hopeless. It was, however, found, that the moderate use of ardent spirits, at stated periods, exposed men to become drunkards ; that, by daily indulgence, a thirst was excited which endangered both body and soul, — and that entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits was the path of safety. Many thousands have become convinced of this, and have adopted the policy, — among whom are an unexpected number of those who were supposed to be past recovery, and bound over by intemperate habits to perish as drunkards. What happy results of a few years' exertion !

'When all the evils of party intemperance shall have been disclosed, they may be found not less terrific and portentous than the evils of intemperate drinking. Why then shall not

Christians of all denominations unite and adopt the same saving policy for both species of intemperance — and resolve on total abstinence from party-spirit as well as from liquid fire? — pp. 102, 103.

It is beyond a question, that comparatively but a small number of persons, and they mostly from other States, are alone responsible for the existence, among us, of what Dr. Codman calls 'polemic war.' The great body of the people would take no part, and feel no interest in these struggles, if they were not set on by their religious guides. It would be sure, in a little time, to restore amity and a good understanding, if ministers and periodical journals, on all sides, would give heed to the judicious counsels offered in these Letters. Speaking of the former, Dr. Worcester says;

'In a time of great excitement and party strife, a minister sits down to write a sermon in vindication of some disputed doctrine, which he believes to be of great importance. But having failed to call humility to his aid, he writes under the influence of party passions. As he proceeds, he grows warmer and warmer, with feelings of contempt or resentment towards all who have opposed his doctrine. He is not contented with producing arguments in its favor; he must give vent to his passions against dissenters. He boldly accuses them of gross errors in their interpretations of the Scriptures; and imputes these errors to the wickedness of their hearts; and fails not to reproach them either as *heretics* or as *bigots*. Thus, while he wantonly calumniates others as destitute of the gospel temper, he evinces a deplorable defect in his own heart. But prior to the time for delivering his discourse, some affecting event of Providence occurs that calls him to deep reflection, occasions a favorable change of feeling, gives humility leave to rise and speak for herself. Hence occurs the following soliloquy: —

' "What have I written for a sermon to be delivered by myself, as the ambassador of Him who was 'meek and lowly of heart'? He exercised forbearance towards his erring Apostles, during the whole course of his ministry, though he knew them to be in gross errors of opinion; yet I have reproached hundreds of his professed disciples as his enemies; and have said much to excite against them the contempt of others. But why all this rashness? They indeed differ from me in their interpretations of some passages of Scripture; but if this be a good reason for me to be offended with them, why may not they as justly be offended with me? Are not some of them at least possessed of

as good talents as myself? May they not have had as good advantages for acquiring knowledge? and how do I know that they have been less honest and impartial in their inquiries than I have been in mine? How has it happened that I have been so forward to *accuse* them, and yet so backward in regard to *suspecting* myself? Could this be the work of humility or benevolence? Have I done to others as I would that they should do to me? Even taking it for granted that they are bad men, is my sermon adapted to do them or any body else any good? Will it not give far more proof of wrong in me than of wrong in them? I indeed have *accused them*; but I have done it with a temper which is the reverse of what is required in the gospel of every disciple of Christ. I will therefore revise the sermon, and erase every word which shall appear to me inconsistent with that love which worketh no evil to its neighbour.” — pp. 110 — 112.

Our limits will permit us to give but one more extract, which is in the same strain.

‘In *extempore* speaking, men have not always sufficient time for premeditation, and in the heat of their zeal, they are very liable to utter things which will not bear an impartial review, and which are unjustly reproachful to others. But in writing for the pulpit or the press, I think it would be a good rule, after having written, seriously to examine the copy and inquire, whether nothing has been penned which is contrary to the New Commandment, or the Golden Rule, — nothing which evinces the disposition to take the highest place, or that must excite the idea that the writer is one of those who “trust in themselves that they are righteous, and despise others.” In such a review of what has been written, it might be useful for the writer to inquire, how the language and tone he has used would be likely to appear to him, if adopted by a person of another denomination against himself; and then erase whatever he would deem anti-christian and unkind, if used by another in an exchange of circumstances. Should the parable of our Lord be duly regarded in future, in conducting religious Newspapers and other Periodicals, the effects may be happy in relation to the progress of religion, and the peace of the Christian world.’ — p. 90.

An interesting question arises here, respecting what may be called the rights of self-defence in controversy. Coarse language, misrepresentation, and malice, are alike inexcusable in the assailants, and in the assailed; but perhaps it is a little too much to expect from the latter, if their religious rights

are wrested from them, if their sincerity and piety are called in question, if they are stigmatized as enemies to the truth and enemies to God, and held up as such to public scorn and indignation, that they should bear it without some feeling of resentment, and some expression of this feeling. In all such cases, it is obvious that those who causelessly and wantonly give the provocation, are responsible not only for the bad spirit which they manifest themselves, but also, in a degree, for the bad spirit which they awaken in others. Besides, when the controversy becomes one, not of speculative opinions merely, but of personal rights, the aggrieved party must look on the aggressor, not merely as in error, but as guilty of injustice and crime. Now even supposing that we can, and that we ought, to set aside altogether personal considerations, is it expected that we shall meet and repel what we believe to be injustice and crime, with the same feelings with which we should endeavour to reconcile an honest difference of opinion? At the same time, we believe that there is no party, as such, which is entirely without blame in this matter; and none which may not find much in these Letters 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.'

ART. IV.—*A Comparative View of the Social Life of England and France, from the Restoration of Charles the Second to the French Revolution.* By the Editor of Madame du Deffand's Letters. London, 1828. 8vo.

THE work before us is a lively picture of the state of society in England and France during certain periods of their history, exhibited chiefly in the contrasts they present to each other. We have thought it might not be wholly without advantage to call the attention of our readers to the same subject in relation to our own country, and especially to our own Commonwealth. We do this with no desire to institute an invidious comparison with any other community, at home or abroad, but because the state of social life, or the spirit of society, as it is sometimes called, is every where, but espe-

cially among a free people, one of the most powerful agents in forming the character and affecting the happiness of every individual. It is an important, because a practical subject, less imposing perhaps, less calculated for striking effect, but of more personal consequence than the mightier matters, which form the materials of national history, and become, by something of an artificial consequence, subjects of regular study and delight.

By social life we mean the ordinary intercourse of private individuals; the state, condition, habits, and manners by which that intercourse is regulated; the prevailing tone of thought, feeling, and affection; that atmosphere of opinion, as impalpable as the one we breathe, operating on the moral health and personal comfort of a community, as air does on the functions of animal life.

By doing so much for individual happiness, this social spirit does no little for the wider and more generous feelings of benevolence and philanthropy. Men are never better inclined to assist others, than when they are pleased with themselves. The rays of personal good feelings are constantly diverging, and a happy man is made more happy by cheering, and smiling, and brightening countenances around him.

We remember, indeed, the declaration of the poet,

‘Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco’;

but while *past* calamity has a tendency to soften the heart, *present* gratification and tranquillity raise a tide of affection, which naturally flows in kindness and good will.

We hope, indeed, that the exceptions are not many to this position, because the most obvious remark to be made in regard to our domestic society is its state of perfect security. When we consider what is the amount of all those public evils of which the most fretful among us complain, as affecting individuals in society, we must certainly admit that they are few in number and inconsiderable in amount. Our state of internal tranquillity is almost unprecedented in the history of mankind. We have no foreign enemies; the evils of war, the fears and anxiety which are inseparable from a state of hostility, are unknown to us. At home all is peaceable. There is no military array, no armed police, no domiciliary visitations. Crimes, which are calculated

to excite terror, are too rare among us to cause previous inquietude. Our people literally repose without any one to make them afraid. We do not mean to say that this fortunate condition of affairs does not produce the gratitude and sensibility that it ought ; but we think, when the condition of mankind from the beginning of the Christian era is considered, that so much cause for gratitude has never been accorded to any other people. The general state of prosperity, the flourishing condition of the great establishments which give opportunity for profitable industry, and the unexampled prevalence of health, throughout the country, combine to increase the motives for a rational sentiment of joy. It is obvious, therefore, that the dangers to which our society is exposed, are not those of calamity, but prosperity ; not of poverty, but affluence ; not those which threaten in the whirlwind and the storm, against which we may arm ourselves with courage and resolution as against open and determined foes, but those which are generated in sunshine under a summer sky, more insidious and delusive as they come in the soft breeze which we court for its salubrity, and steal upon us in the lassitude of that indolence and ease, to which we surrender ourselves without apprehension.

The existence of a given state of society, which they who live in it may alter at their pleasure, implies a satisfaction which secures its continuance. But many of its institutions remain, not because they are approved, but because no one is bold enough to break through them. They are ancient, and have custom and familiarity on their side ; and the risk of attacking them is too dangerous to be lightly essayed. We have no royal edict to change them, and no popular representation which has authority to reform them, and they continue by force of antiquity even against the inclination of an improved age.

Hence the spirit of society may not keep its appropriate place. It should do so. It should not be allowed to linger behind the improvements which learning and experience may introduce. It should be kept up to the expectations of an intelligent and educated people, and be made to advance the moral character and promote the happiness of the community.

Next to the general tranquillity, by which our society is distinguished, the most obvious appearance is its perfect

equality. No one class has any special immunities. Perhaps it might be more correct to say there is but one class among us. Differences exist to be sure in wealth, talents, education, taste, and by leisure for liberal or a necessity for laborious pursuits; but society has no distinctions in law, and no separation by caste. Every thing may be had by any body, who can acquire the means of procuring it; and the means are open to the efforts of each and all. These means are acquired too by chances and apparent accidents of extraordinary character, and the continuance of them beyond one or two generations of the same family is so efficiently prevented by our statute of distributions, that, though there are among us many rich men, and always will be so long as our prosperity continues, the class, as it exists in Europe, is here wholly unknown.

Privileges or possessions beyond what are bought and paid for are not only not possessed, but not even imagined; and those habits, manners, and inclinations, which distinguish a wealthy aristocracy, are absolutely, and we may say without any exception, unheard of. A class of men, living on their wealth and creating fictitious wants and desires which it is the occupation of other classes to supply, and marked from their fellow citizens, as a peerage of nabobs, has not yet been seen, and is not likely under our institutions ever to be seen in the United States. Our rich men have almost invariably something to do, in common with their fellow citizens. Without occupation, they would lose the respect of the community, and would get nothing in exchange for it. Their wealth is mingled with the common mass of the wealth of the people. It cannot be placed apart, and kept separate from the general fund. It must be and is exposed to all that agitates the community. The general prosperity of the country affects it; and in that general prosperity, therefore, our rich men are at least as much concerned as the laborer who toils for his daily subsistence. They cannot, if they would, separate themselves either in employment or amusement or inclinations from the body of the people. If an individual should have a different disposition, it would be impracticable to indulge it. No combination could be formed for such objects; and it was feelingly lamented by a gentleman of this description, that in Boston there was *no place to do nothing, and nobody to help do it.*

Property, perhaps, in all countries, is in some degree connected with the general condition of the people, and is more or less secure, and more or less productive, as the community is prosperous or depressed; but in the monarchical governments of Europe, there is a vast amount of property in the hands of rich men, which is not affected, or but very little affected, in this way. The enormous debt of the English nation, the extravagant pension list, and exorbitant hierarchal establishment, supply a permanent and unchangeable class of rich men with an annual income, the payment of which, power enforces, at whatever cost to the people. If commerce languishes, or agriculture is depressed, or the manufacturers starve, still these great demands on the means of the people are regularly levied, and the very misery of those who suffer, adds to the value of the property of those who possess. And they do receive their entire amount whatever be the suffering of the laborers from whose anguish and wretchedness it is wrung. The affluence that grows out of commercial or manufacturing operations is raised by the exertions of multitudes, whom it feeds, clothes, nourishes, and instructs; while the disproportionate revenues raised for the support of oligarchical stipendiaries in taxes and gratuities, impoverishes one class for the grandeur and dignity of another. The effect too is continued beyond its immediately perceptible limits. By taking away one half the food of the laborer, it extends the circle of the poor, and multiplies a class of dependant and miserable men, whom the more active capitalists must employ, and can, and of course do employ at a cheaper rate. Where then enormous wealth is drawn from the people for sinecures and proud establishments, hierarchal magnificence and government patronage, the laborious and industrious members of the community, who pay the amount, will be oppressed; and being oppressed, they will be driven into pauperism and crime, and the circle will enlarge from time to time and take in greater numbers. The established inequality of the different portions of the community will grow wider, and proceed from bad to worse. The limit of suffering at length will be reached, and a mighty revolution will throw off the oppressive weight that can no longer be sustained, and could not be moved but with violence and convulsion.

We have included the public debt of a nation in the causes

that are calculated to establish a monied aristocracy, but it is apparent that it can produce such a result, only when it is permanent in its character, and very great in amount. Its quantity and its durability united place its proprietors in a condition, where the ordinary fluctuation of public affairs does not reach them. They are then cut off from that sympathy with the people, which alone can make them essentially a part of the community. In such a condition of things there may naturally be entertained a strong jealousy of monied men; and it cannot be supposed that they who are clothed every day in purple and fine linen by those whose labor supplies the materials, while themselves and their own children are almost naked, can very well expect much regard and esteem.

We, too, have a public debt; but its amount is so small in comparison to the general wealth of the country, and it is so constantly diminishing by means of that republican policy that enforces its rapid extinguishment, that it cannot produce here any injurious operation. We have no hierarchy, and no pension list, and no sinecures; all the property of our richest men must therefore be placed in the general funds of an active, enterprising people, forming capital for productive industry, mingling in good or ill fortune with the condition of the country, and binding its proprietors by ties certainly not weaker than join their fellow citizens to the common welfare of the state.

If any jealousy or unfriendly feeling exists among us towards rich men, it is rather caused by the success of their efforts than by any disapprobation of honorable exertion; for certainly the most determinate and universal passion of our whole population is the desire of gain. We cannot deny that the characteristic of American citizens, and not the least of our New England community, is, in the first place, a desire to be well off in the world, and, next, to have the reputation of being so. This desire, which is the parent of that bold and daring enterprise, that patient and indefatigable industry, that firmness, and constancy, and perseverance, that prudence, and forethought, and calculation, that steadiness and sobriety, and orderly temperament, which have been enumerated among the virtues of our people, is also the mother of a less amiable family, whose children must be restrained and disciplined, if we would preserve the reputation of their

ancestry. If it is necessary to account for this universal disposition, which is blamable only in its excess, it may be said that our institutions as yet give little scope for distinction in any other way. The peerage and the church as hereditary establishments, do not exist with us. The army and the navy, as natural reservoirs for particular favorites, cannot be counted among our institutions. Literature and the arts do not offer much encouragement. Public trust and official station depend on the caprice of popular favor. Nothing seems within an individual's personal reach but the fortune, for which he must labor, first for existence, and then for celebrity. And it is this necessity that has inspired the universal disposition of which we speak. A great object with every individual is to earn his living. Patrimonial property is so subdivided, and, if it comes at all, ordinarily comes so late, that the necessity of personal exertion for a respectable support is, almost without exception, unavoidable. It is for this purpose education begins, and it is for this it is continued through the tedious period of pupilage. The necessity is apparent; the imperious obligation commences with lisping infancy; it is made, *ab ovo*, the grand business of life.

Now in this universal struggle it is impossible there should not be competition, rivalry, eager desire to come out well, anxiety to be speedily relieved from the toil. The hope of success, of great success, of success beyond that of the contending crowd, grows into a passion, which may too easily become the master-passion of the mind. Mortification at defeat, contrivance to conceal it, efforts to make small advantages appear large ones, and little losses less, are connected with the main object, until the powers of the mind, directed for a considerable period to one great scheme, finally accomplish even more from habit than was contemplated to be done by design.

The tone of our society is, we confess it with regret, too much regulated by the key note of wealth. The open and grosser marks which in other places are exhibited in base bribery and shameless corruption, have not, we trust and believe, as yet made their appearance among us; but if in this respect we have something left to be proud of, we cannot commit our institutions to the operation of the feeling, which has already been developed, or be satisfied that in its extension it would be found compatible with a republican gov-

ernment. *Omnia venalia sunt Romæ* cannot safely be inscribed on the portals of a free people.

In our community, wealth is pursued not so much for accumulation as display; not to be hoarded up for future employment, but lavished in present profusion; and the consequence is, that, though we escape the degradation of avarice, we are subjected to the inconveniences of extravagance. This disposition comes from another of our republican feelings, which, eminently honorable on the whole, may be liable to the beautiful observation of the heroine of *Mid-Lothian*, that 'there is always weal and wo with world's gear.'

Notwithstanding the perfect equality of our institutions, there is a constant impulse, in the community, to get each above the rest. We are all placed on the broad level of a perfect equality, but we are not contented to remain there long. We forbid, indeed, any artificial assistance from birth, or government, or hereditary rank, but the strife goes on, nevertheless, among ourselves. Some succeed, and some appear to succeed, but rather by their pecuniary success than in any other way. The evidence of this success is given out in display, in costly expenditure, in luxurious indulgence, in extravagance when it exceeds reasonable limits, and in generous liberality when it does not pass these bounds.

The consequence of this is a passion for dress, magnificent buildings, and showy entertainments. The first is almost universal, and, like most other dispositions of the human mind, has its advantages as well as its evils; its positive and desirable benefits, when regulated by sound judgment; its lamentable mischiefs, when it snaps the reins of discretion. It is beneficial, no doubt, by encouraging honest industry as the means of lawful indulgence; it gives employment to numerous useful classes, who minister in the saloons where fashion holds her court; it encourages elegant and useful arts, and gives our population a neatness and decency of appearance which generate kindred valuable qualities. There is a self-respect inspired by a creditable personal appearance, which has an effect on the manners, and even the character. Of the thirty thousand people of all ages, and sexes, and conditions of life, who thronged the streets of Boston on the second centennial celebration of its settlement, not an individual was to be seen who was not neatly, decently, and appropriately dressed.

It is, however, not to be doubted, that the disposition to extravagance, in this respect, is a little in advance of the means of its honest gratification, and that the sacrifices, at which it is indulged, are not unfrequently ruinous to character as well as fortune. When honest means will not answer the purpose, more doubtful ones are attempted; so that, for the sake of looking well, some of our young people have been willing neither to do well nor to be well. How far those, who have the unquestionable means, might control the tide of fashion, and how far they might feel willing to attempt such a task, we do not venture to decide; but we cannot doubt, that a little self-restraint, on their part, would be a valuable offering on the altar of their country. Women as well as men belong to the country, and have equal interest in its honor and prosperity. Their duties may be different, but equally imperative. They may not often be called to make bow-strings of their hair, or melt their gold and silver ornaments into coin. Like the women of the revolution, they may not be now called to make lint and prepare bandages for the wounded, or minister in hospitals to the suffering martyrs of freedom; but there is a daily beauty in their lives, which they are constantly bound to exhibit; a power over the taste and sentiment, the habits and manners, the inclinations, fashions, and mode of social intercourse, which they cannot better exert, than by the honorable example of diminished extravagance.

A servile imitation of the faded decorations and unseasonable fabrics of European invention, exhibits a national poverty of design, which is not to the credit of our genius. To import from the shops of London and Paris the pictures of a French opera dancer, or an English jockey, as models for our own ladies' and gentlemen's personal decorations; to exhibit here in August, what was there *en règle* in March; to display cast-off finery as a novelty, by which the charms of our beautiful countrywomen can be improved, is a folly so supremely ridiculous, that no quantity of impudence would have the audacity to propose it, if already it had not become familiar to us by inveterate usage.

If we follow our society into its associations of pleasure, we shall not, probably, be satisfied with its intellectual character. Some may be startled by a suggestion that literature and amusement could by possibility be connected. They go into company for relaxation, and not labor; they go to laugh, and

dance, and divert themselves, and not to study and recite their lessons, as if it was another period of school discipline. This is exactly the feeling on which we would animadvert. It implies a separation between the employment of intellectual beings and the gratification of their intellectual faculties, and demonstrates that they have yet something to learn, before they can arrive at the highest enjoyment of which their nature is susceptible.

We do not propose to hand round a waiter of psalm-books to a collection of men and women mingling in the circles of social intercourse, nor to interrupt the hilarity of gay spirits and buoyant feelings by stopping amusement and calling the company to prayers. To every thing there is a season, and this is not the time or place for acts of public devotion. But we boast of being an educated people; and however pleasant or proper it may be to throw off the trammels of learning for occasional relaxation and amusement, regular appropriations of much time to listless vacuity of mind, to utter frivolity and folly, to useless, idle, unmeaning conversation, that has no merit while it is passing, and brings no gratification when it is past, is beneath the character of an educated community. With such modes of social entertainment as we are in the habit of sustaining, such a boast is a very unmeaning or a very extravagant gasconade. Of what consequence is it that we have schools of all kinds, from the infant school to the university, lectures and discourses in abundance, books every where, newspapers and pamphlets like leaves in Valombrosa, daily journals, weekly magazines, learned *monthlys*, and critical *quarterlys*, without end, if we find, nevertheless, that instruction is all labor, and learning hard work; if we get rid of it as a trouble, as speedily as we may; if we shake off our harness and delightedly roll on the green grass, like an over-worked animal, when he frees himself from the drudgery of his daily task? If the results of education do not enter into the constant occupations of pleasure as well as business; if they do not mix in with the affairs of common life, if they do not utterly unfit us for grossness and barbarity, and coarse and inelegant employment, if they are mere decorations, assumed as a sort of holiday dress, and put off and folded up the moment we get a chance to be free, they are not of the value they were supposed to be, and do little beyond serving as an excuse for the affectation of pretending to be pleased with them.

It is our opinion, that a cultivated intellectual society cannot find much gratification in reciprocating nonsense, and practising *gourmanderie*; and that where such occupations form the constituents of pleasure, the society, in which they are found, has little just pretension to intellectual distinction. We admit, that assembling in society is for amusement, and we not only concede, but maintain, that amusement is, in itself, as necessary to human virtue, as sleep is to human life; but amusement may be creditable or discreditable, elevated or low, intellectual or vulgar. Now, if it must be had, let it be had according to the taste and inclination of those who are to enjoy it; and do not let him, who finds and can find no pleasure in elegant conversation, seek to get amusement by trying to talk; if he finds all his sensibilities attracted to the supper-table, let him feast at it in moderation, and content himself with the refinements of oysters and champaign; but if this is the great cause of his entertainment, do not let him make any pretension to superiority of intellectual cultivation.

A better tone of society would change all this; and what now strikes us as a laborious and hard task, that of maintaining an easy, playful, elegant, and instructive conversation, an interchange of thoughts worthy to be remembered, and a developement of sentiment and opinion that might be remembered with satisfaction, would then become easy and popular. Instead of the costly display of materials for eating and drinking, disgusting by their quantity, and dangerous to the habits and character of the young and aged, whom they tempt beyond moderation, a lighter refecton would soon become quite as satisfactory, and be vastly less prejudicial to health and to the mind. Let the dance go on, let music increase its fascinations, let youth enjoy its halcyon days, with all that can render life gay, cheerful, and happy; but take care, that in the excess of your kindness, you do not ruin the animated and lovely beings, whom you draw to a bright and shining light, that may destroy them.

Put no obstacle in the way of the enjoyment of every thing that wealth and liberality can contribute to divert the spirits, and gratify the imagination, and elevate the heart; but let it be remembered, that over all these preparations, the spirit of intelligence and discretion should preside; and that there can be no permanent happiness where there is a departure from pro-

priety. He is not the kindest friend, who pours forth the most liberally of his abundance, but he who so manages his contributions, that, while he promotes the innocent hilarity, he does not jeopardize the moral habits of the companions collected around him.

There is yet another circumstance in our state of society, which we have hardly left ourselves space to notice, and yet it cannot be passed over without at least a cursory remark. We mean the matter-of-fact calculation on which it is arranged. We are getting to be more dull, and grave, and phlegmatic, than is wise or prudent. The plan of our association is too strictly utilitarian. We prune off, and pare down, until the fruit, as well as foliage, is in danger of destruction. We are very little of an imaginative people. There is not much that seems to us expedient, unless its exact value is first mathematically ascertained. The may-pole and the liberty-pole are cut down; the sports and gambols of merry England, the jocund hilarity of beautiful France, the song, the dance, the improvisatore of romantic Italy, are out of season and out of climate; and our public days are too often days of disgraceful intemperance, because there are no national games, no lawful pleasurable pastimes, which may honestly be substituted for the daily labor of life. If a chaplet of flowers should be suspended over the grave of a departed friend, there would be no sympathy in the public mind to preserve them as the tribute of mourning affection; the first passer-by would wonder if it was thought the inanimate dust could be sensible of their perfume; they would be more likely to be stolen than to wither. Monuments of the dead can scarcely escape being mutilated in the mere wantonness of the folly or the ignorance of the gazers.

We have heard wonder expressed why our Chief Executive Magistrate marched in public procession with a military guard, when there was no danger of an enemy! In all the forms and ceremonies of civil and religious duty, a simplicity, almost on the Quaker plan, is encroaching on the rites and pageantry of former times.

A young couple went, not long since, into the study of a late Judge of our Supreme Court, who, by virtue of a commission as Justice of the Peace, was authorized to solemnize marriages, and desired him to marry them. 'Very well,' said his honor, whom they found writing, 'pass me your cer-

tificate, and you may go.' The man handed a certificate that the banns were published, but remained. The Judge continued his employment, until the impatient bridegroom again announced the intention of his visit. 'Very well,' said the Judge, and again pursued his task. After some further delay, the neglected applicants once more reminded his honor of their desire to be married. 'Why, go home,' said the magistrate; 'you have been married this half hour.' And it was true. The law only requires an acknowledgment of present intention before a Justice of the Peace, and a recognition of that intention by the Justice in his official capacity. There is no form of words necessary to the purpose, nor any ceremony, other than a simple declaration, which the Judge did not permit, for a moment, to disturb his meditation.

But we doubt whether this simplicity may not be carried too far. There is an avenue to the mind through the heart. The imagination excites the affections. Ceremonies, and parade, and decorations, and a pageantry which it would be difficult to justify by any syllogistic argument, have ever been found necessary to influence the conduct of mankind. No doubt these are supplements to weakness. Men are stronger and firmer who can do without them; but they are not wiser, who affect to do without them, and fail for want of their assistance. No doubt they may be excessive. The mummeries that have been practised on the credulity of mankind in other countries, have brought the whole system into contempt; and here, too, many a man has passed for a wise man, rather from the size of his wig than the capacity of his brain. But we are not intellectual enough to dispense with all the machinery that moves the mind. The passions, the affections, the imagination, are to be consulted as well as the reason. They are all parts of that complicated contrivance, by which the human will is to be influenced; they are the gifts of a Providence that has bestowed nothing in vain; they are not to be eradicated as noxious, or neglected as useless, but directed, and controlled, and employed, as necessary instruments in the formation of character and the promotion of happiness.

A little more attention to the matter we are considering, might, we think, be advantageously given by our temperance societies; for, we much mistake, if more than one half the excesses, which so lamentably degrade us, do not begin rather from the want of lawful and innocent objects of amusement,

than from any disposition for, or delight in, the intoxication itself.

We might have called our readers' notice to more amiable traits in our social intercourse, to finer and more accordant tones in the constant music of society, to the high sentiment of moral purity, which pervades it; to the reprehension and disgrace, which attend even the suspicion of departure from the chastity and honor of the sex; to its hospitality, its liberality, its noble and almost inexhaustible spirit of benevolence and charity. We might have exhibited splendid exceptions to the cases we have noticed, and portrayed, from living originals, bright pictures of its elegance, refinement, intellectual culture, and tender sensibility. But it is well, sometimes, to see the shades on the canvass. It is expedient, occasionally, to look at home with the severity with which strangers scrutinize us. We do not feel the less kindness for endeavouring to point out the means of being worthier of regard. With the philosophic poet we say, then,

'Thee I account still happy, and the chief
Among the nations, seeing thou art free,
My native nook of earth! Thy clime is rude,
Thine unadulterate manners are less soft
And plausible than social life requires,
And thou hast need of discipline and art,
To give thee what politer France receives
From nature's bounties — that humane address
And sweetness, without which no pleasure is
In converse, either starved by cold reserve,
Or flush'd with fierce dispute. —
YET BEING FREE, I LOVE THEE.'

[For the Christian Examiner.]

The following Address, by Professor PALFREY, of Cambridge, though composed for a particular occasion, appeared to the Editors of this work to contain so much that was of general and permanent importance and interest, that they requested a copy for publication; which request was kindly complied with by the author. The form in which it was delivered has been retained, as it was believed that much of its spirit might be lost in giving it another shape.

THE EDITORS.

ART. V. — *An Address delivered before the Society for Promoting Theological Education, June 5, 1831.* By JOHN G. PALFREY, Professor of Biblical Literature in Harvard University.

You have assembled, my friends, at the invitation of the Society for promoting Theological Education, to attend to some exposition of its supposed claims to the favor and patronage of the community. These, without text or preface, I proceed to attempt to lay before you, not intending, as I go on, to avoid any details which may help to put you in better possession of the subject, and altogether passing over some topics forcibly presenting themselves, which might have more of general or of popular interest, than what I shall discuss, since I am mainly solicitous to make suggestions to meet the present object.

From the early part of the last century, Harvard College had possessed a professorship in theology; and, in the beginning of the present, by the bounty of a distinguished individual,* a lectureship in the same department had been established. The College also held funds for relieving the expenses of students preparing for the ministry. But the means of obtaining a suitable education for the sacred office being manifestly quite inadequate, the government of that institution, in a circular letter, addressed, in the year 1815, to some of its leading friends in different parts of the Commonwealth and elsewhere, called the attention of the community to the subject. Subscriptions were in consequence obtained to the amount of nearly thirty thousand dollars, and the contributors

* The Honorable Samuel Dexter.

formed themselves into a *Society for the Promotion*, — such was its title, — of *Theological Education in Harvard University*, under an agreement with the College that the fund should be in trust with the President and Fellows of that corporation, jointly with five individuals, chosen from year to year by the Society. A new professorship, that of Biblical Literature, was soon instituted, upon the basis of the lectureship previously existing, and the Divinity School assumed a form, and under the able care of the eminent men who filled its offices of instruction, its usefulness and importance rapidly increased. In the year 1824, a change took place in the relation of the Society of which I speak, to the College, by means of an agreement that the Directors of that Society should exercise an immediate control over the Divinity School, prescribing its course of study, and originating rules for its discipline, subject to the revision of the College government in all cases in which the constitution of the College should so require. Under this administration, the number of students was considerably enlarged; the foundation of a separate library was laid; and Divinity Hall was erected for the accommodation of students, with apartments for their different exercises and for lodging, and a third professorship, that of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care, was established, by means of new funds, obtained by the Directors from some of this community's numerous enlightened friends of piety and learning.

But inconveniences not anticipated manifested themselves under this system. The Directors found, that all the attention they could give to their trust, would but partially² compensate the disadvantages under which they labored, in having other cares, to which precedence was due, living apart from the institution, and so wanting that opportunity for personal observation of its state, and acquaintance with its pupils, which were needful to the best administration of its concerns. Their representation to this effect was approved by the Society, who accordingly, last autumn, made a proposal to the government of the College, which was acceded to on its part, that the Society's connexion with the Divinity School, both in respect to right of superintendence through the Directors, and to obligation to contribute to its support, should be dissolved. The present object of the Society is expressed in its altered name. Its relation to the University having ceased, it sub-

sists as the Society for Promoting Theological Education, being now at liberty to use its discretion, in applying, in any quarter whatever, the means which may be entrusted to it for that purpose. The College government then proceeded to commit to the Theological Faculty, consisting of the President and three Professors, the same trust in the immediate management of the institution, which had hitherto been exercised by the Directors of the Society.

But, while this Society is now under no obligation to give to its funds one direction rather than another, except that, in the words of its Constitution, they must be appropriated 'for advancing the interests of pure Christianity, and promoting a liberal study of the Scriptures,' and 'so as that every encouragement shall be given to the serious, impartial, and unbiassed investigation of Christian truth,' and 'that no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination of Christians shall ever be required,'—while, I say, it is no longer restricted, in the terms of its Constitution, as to the destination which its funds must take, it is my duty to add, that whatever means are at its disposal, until altered circumstances shall alter its apparent duty, will, in fact, be applied to the support of indigent and meritorious students of the Divinity School in Harvard University. Of the Divinity School, I say, in Harvard University, because I have reason to know that it is to that institution that the views of the government of the Society are, for the present, exclusively directed; and to the support of indigent and meritorious students of that school, because provision for this specific object is now its great want. Thanks to munificent benefactors, we have already a suitable building for them to lodge, and worship together, and be taught in. No further accommodation is needed, or likely to be immediately needed, of this kind. All departments of instruction belonging to a complete course of theological study, in its various branches, are likewise provided for, and the establishment of any new office is not at present desired, though the foundations for those which exist need to be enlarged, to place them on a sufficiently permanent footing. Lastly, the Faculty have recently been so fortunate as to effect an arrangement for relieving students from the heavy expense hitherto attendant upon the purchase of books, by furnishing to each, hereafter, at a small annual charge, the use, through his course, of a copy of every book necessary in pursuing the studies of

his class, with the exception, only, of the Old and New Testaments in the original tongues, which every student is required to possess. Having, then, the place for them to be instructed in, the teachers for them to be instructed by, and the books for them to be instructed from, all that we further want is, that they may have the means of living where this apparatus is prepared, in order that they may receive instruction ; and this, in its bare simplicity, is the case which we have to bring before you.

Those who would know whether our application is a reasonable one, may wish to be satisfied upon the points proposed in the four following questions.

Why should ministers be educated at all ?

If educated, why at a public institution ?

If at a public institution, why at Harvard University, rather than at any other ? and,

If at Harvard University, why at the public expense ?

1. Why should ministers be educated men, as this Society would have them ?

Because, without careful education, they will be incompetent to administer their office to the best satisfaction and edification of the churches. He who would communicate truth, must, of course, himself have become possessed of it ; and he who would produce an effect on other minds, must be instructed in the proper arts of influencing them. The ministry are set for the defence of the Gospel, and it must be defended against learned opponents with learning, against ingenious opponents with logical power. It belongs to them to interpret it ; and it is only abundant study, which can make them competent to the nicer investigations into its sense. It is their office to enforce its doctrines, laws, and sanctions ; and this needs to be done by methods, for which, if right feeling and good sense may supply the materials, it is only application and practice that can mature the skill. Certainly ; let those, who understand the Gospel, preach the Gospel. But it is one thing to understand it sufficiently for our own government as a rule of life, and another to be prepared to maintain its heavenly authority against all objections, to show its consistency against all misapprehensions, and to exhibit those most impressive and discriminating views of it, which have the freest and most powerful access to men's minds. I appeal to you, my friends, — and I well know how you will answer the

appeal, — whether you do not expect something more from a minister than to be able to use scripture language familiarly in some vague, or some unexamined, received sense, or to manifest an acquaintance, greater or less, with the common places of some controversy of the day. Entertaining no more worthy ambition, — trusting, and so liable to be self-deceived, — what is there to ensure you even that he will not be found to have handled the word of God deceitfully? And, granting that such expositions and illustrations as he attempts should chance to be mainly right, you do not think that it becomes a shepherd of souls to be willing to be right by chance, without certainty, and without the power of showing to others that he is so. Ministers among us have to do with many who will not be sent away without an answer, and who will not take an assertion, or a rebuke, or a sophism, in the place of one; — not only occasionally with unbelievers, who fully understand the force, and point, and bearing of objections which they urge, but often with believers, whose minds are painfully laboring under some doubt or superstition, from which they are entitled to the relief, that one mighty in the Scriptures might immediately afford; — with persons ignorant, but discerning, susceptible of the best impressions from instruction and argument, but yet knowing what thought, and meaning, and argument are, and on their guard against taking the shadow for the substance. They have concerns with the young mind; and they will have frequent occasions to perceive, that, scanty as its furniture yet may be, it is not merely a white table to be carelessly and incoherently written on; but that it has instincts of a most philosophical discrimination, which will shrink and reluct with a nicer sense than that of the rules of logic from every fallacy for which logic has, or has not, found a name. They have to preach to, and converse with, judicious, experienced, often well-read men, who expect that religious truth is to be set before them on grounds of evidence equally clear and cogent, with what they have been used to look for, and to find, for other truths; and that a consistency is to be shown between it and other parts of their knowledge, that so it may take its place in their minds among things of ascertained and tangible reality, and shed a light upon, and receive lights from, every thing else they know. I will not dwell upon the thought, — though if I should, it would not be altogether in a desponding spirit, for I rejoice, as in one of the brightest signs of the

times, that eminent laymen have taken up these studies,—the thought, that ministers may even need to be somewhat more on the alert, if they would not be outstripped by the better diligence of others, in their own proper course of intellectual exercise. Let it come to be once generally seen or believed, that they know less of their chosen business than others know, and even the task of suitably maintaining our religious institutions, hard enough in some places already, would begin to look like a desperate enterprise. But it is sufficient to say, that, for their own separate uses, and at all times, to meet the necessities of the individual souls for which they undertake to provide spiritual food, the churches demand a learned ministry. And more; there are those, not ministers, but wiser men, it may be, who think they perceive, that the disappearance of such a ministry would be a shivering blow upon the firmest foundation-stone of the community's quiet and prosperity.

I have confined myself in these remarks to a Christian minister's need of education for his office, in order to a fit discharge of its every-day duties, without adverting, because it was too large a subject to be incidentally introduced, to the obligation of the American clergy to use their advantages (in some important respects altogether unparalleled) for enlarging the limits of theological science. Remembering who those are whom I address, I will not further dwell on the topic which I have been treating, except to suggest, that, in the present state of things among us, it is peculiarly desirable, that the requisite mental furniture should be as largely provided as possible within the period of preparatory discipline. There has probably been no previous time when more stress has been laid than now upon the active duties of a minister, to the prejudice of his opportunities for study; when, to a greater degree than now, he was compelled to feel, that the brief intervals of time, which he passed among his books, were so much withdrawn from occupations, esteemed to have a stronger claim upon him. And as long as the prosecution of any regular system of study continues to be thus obstructed, the evil ought to be obviated, as far as may be, by accumulating the richest stock attainable of professional learning, during the preparatory course.

2. But, secondly, if ministers are to be educated, why
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should this be at a public institution? Why not, as was formerly the practice, under the care of a private clergyman?

I suppose, my hearers, that no one can consider the subject, and not allow that the practice referred to, was merely the use of a very imperfect expedient, as long as no better was to be had. The question is not at all, whether among the parish clergy are to be found the most eminent men in the profession, nor even, whether in their ranks appear the individuals the most apt to teach others. But it is, whether there is any one, who is qualified to give alone the best instruction in every department; who can command the time, from his parochial cares, to do it; who, in addition to the resources of his own mind, can offer the various other advantages for needed study and practical exercise; and who collects around him a sufficient number of students to exert the proper action on one another. Here are brought to view the obvious advantages of a public institution. In all departments of instruction, its pupils have the aid of teachers, who, while they will generally have enjoyed the benefit of previous practical experience of the ministry, are selected on account of their supposed peculiar interest, each in his own department, and separated from other cares, to the end that all their powers and endeavours may be devoted to giving, and qualifying themselves to give, the best assistance in that walk. Again; it is quite plain that it is only in a public establishment that that collection of means can be made, by which this education is to be most advantageously conducted. In the wide range, which the study of divinity now takes, and which it is greatly undesirable should be narrowed, it is necessary to have access, regularly to a considerable number, and occasionally to a very large number, of books. Further; unless all observation has deceived us, the power of sympathy and the benefit of coöperation among persons engaged in the same pursuit are extremely great; and the interest of a number of students prosecuting their inquiries apart will be very cold, and their progress very slow, and their conclusions for the most part, general and loose, compared with those of the same number collected together, acting on each others' minds and hearts, interchanging their different views, and thus clearing, correcting, and enlarging them, and mutually excited by the power of good example, and of that degree of emulation,

which is consistent with generous feelings. Lastly; the friendships which under these circumstances will naturally be formed, are auspicious of the greatest good to the church, affording foundation for future effective coöperation in worthy common objects, and extending a mutual interest and good understanding, and a sense of mutual dependence and obligation, through the distant communities of worshippers of the same Lord.

3. If there be allowed to be reason in these remarks, then, thirdly, as a place of resort for our youth destined to the sacred office, why should the Divinity School of Harvard University be preferred to other institutions having the same object?

I will not urge, in reply, any sentiment, in which numbers of my hearers might however be found to sympathize, of veneration for a spot, to which are attached so many glowing associations in the minds of this community; whence from generation to generation a noble spirit of intelligence and honor has gone abroad among them, and defenders and benefactors been bountifully supplied; and to which still their affections, if ever for a season they seem estranged, soon turn back, as if instinctively, with a reanimated warmth. I will proceed at once to the great consideration, — a proud if a painful one, — that, unlike every other institution of the kind, with which we are acquainted, — no restriction is placed, at that of which we speak, on the freest scriptural inquiry, on the part either of pupil or teacher. It suffers no violence to be done to the Protestant principles of the sufficiency of God's word, and the right of private judgment; principles, which if we did not know how complex is the mental constitution of man, we should say were not more at the root of intelligent belief than at that of vital piety. It neither calls on the young themselves, nor sets to them the bad example of requiring their guides, to submit their faith to human dictation; to profess their subjection to formularies of man's device; — least of all, to engage to follow the light which the book of divine truth may disclose, no further than to a prescribed point. Here appears a decisive consideration, though all others should incline the other way, why this institution should be preferred as an object of favor and patronage, by those who deem highly of the rights of the mind, and think that above all

things, it ought to be left free to adopt and profess the convictions which Scripture and divine grace may convey to it. If it be true, that here there is no restraint of human creeds, and that at every other institution of the kind in our land, there is such restraint in some form, this, I say, is a commanding reason for the choice of it, among similar objects of patronage, by those who set a high value on the liberty wherewith Christ has made them free.

And, in one view, I cannot but think that this consideration will be seen, by reflecting men, to address itself with special urgency to their sense of personal, and their regard for the public interests. The principles, which fortify one in asserting and using his own liberty of conscience, are of course the same, which will lead him to respect and uphold that liberty in others; and therefore they, who are jealous of encroachment on their freedom of thought, may well be concerned to have the churches provided with a ministry sensible to the mischiefs and the unjustifiable character of any attempt at such encroachment. True; such men may say, that they are secured against spiritual usurpation by the laws. But how far secured? They are protected only from that, from which the partially reformed state of public sentiment in these times would alone protect them. They can neither be imprisoned, fined, banished, nor burned, for thinking for themselves, as in other times they might have been. But the peace of such men is assailable in another way, where the laws find a much greater difficulty in protecting it, and where public sentiment has by no means reached that correctness and delicacy which are to be desired. I ask how a man is to be secured in the possession of his good name, and of those various social advantages which depend upon the respectful estimation in which one is held, and at the same time in the free exercise of his right of private judgment in questions relating to the salvation of his soul. You answer, By the prevalence of an enlightened spirit of toleration in the community. I assent to this, and inquire again by what means that spirit is to be produced and maintained. The reply must be, that it is to be produced and maintained, in great part, at least, by the instructions and examples of a truly liberal clergy. The influence of independent and enlightened men, in other walks of life, upon religious sentiment, is certainly not inconsiderable. But that of the clergy upon the religious

community is still more distinctive and direct. The better part of them are now, as they have been in other periods of the church, the efficient champions of toleration. On the other hand, when they have the inclination, there is not wanting among them power to frame a plausible argument for intolerance, nor resolution to set an example by acting up to their reasonings; and their influence will be the greatest upon precisely those minds which are already the most disposed to bigotry,—upon the narrow and uninformed. In this favored place, my hearers, you will say that you experience little of this evil. But why not? Look at the condition of other places, more populous, more prosperous, possibly not less intelligent, and with not less, perhaps, of the form of godliness; and you may see reason to allow that your comparative exemption can be considered as resulting from nothing more than the labors and example of a truly Christian clergy through a long course of years. But the evil might be set before you in the most palpable shape, if you should be led into many villages even of this Commonwealth, so far advanced before most others in right religious sentiment. You might be shown even there that denunciations for difference of religious opinion, such as when you read, afford you only amusement, if they afford you that, are a most serious affliction to most worthy men; not only wounding them, but crossing their honorable path; touching them in their business,—nay, following them to their firesides. A sort of mark is set upon them, until, in the progress of inquiry, they become numerous enough to introduce a different specimen of the Christian ministry among them; and from that time the spirit of bitterness is rebuked, and waxes fainter and fainter. Who is content with the enjoyment of those rights which alone the law assures to him? Who sets light by those which are only accorded by an enlightened moral sense in the public mind? If you rejoice in your own exemption from the scourge of the tongue, and its attendant evils, you will reasonably desire to have it perpetuated as it was first obtained. If you sympathize with those who endure such evils, you will naturally desire that something may be done for their relief; and both these objects are to be effected, in unison with all other religious objects, by the labors of a clergy,—I do not say, entertaining one or another belief on controverted questions, of this I am not at all now speaking,—but a clergy imbued with

the free, and enlightened, and charitable spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ; and such a clergy, thank God, whatever opinions they may go forth with, there is nothing in the institutions of Harvard University to prevent from being formed there; nor, as long as the people of this Commonwealth understand their duty and interest as well as hitherto they have uniformly understood them, is it to be feared that there ever will be.

You perceive, then, my friends, distinctly, on what ground I venture to rest the claim of preference for this institution over others with a similar design. I do not say that pupils will go forth from us into the Gospel vineyard with a better furniture of learning than from other schools;—though as to other advantages collected for their use, they are evidently great, and to the ample eulogy, which, were my relations different, I could not refrain from pronouncing on the worth of the labors of my colleagues, I know that the public voice would cordially respond. I do not say that our pupils will go forth more devoted to their work than others, or with more of their Master's spirit; though I trust in God it will be our never-ceasing endeavour to make them, not subjects of a scholastic discipline merely, but competent, engaged, diligent, useful ministers of Jesus Christ; to excite them to a disinterested and self-denying, — if I may say it, to an apostolic fidelity and zeal, in the conduct of their great work. I am persuaded that numbers of excellently disposed young persons go forth into the ministry from other places of instruction, nor do I call in question this character as belonging to any whom they furnish. But, I repeat it, it is unhappily the apparent tendency of the standing regulations themselves of other such establishments, to reconcile the mind to wearing and imposing fetters, which it intimately concerns the public and the church that men should not desire or consent to put on; while the rules of the institution, now recommended, go alike in their letter and their spirit to make it a point of conscience with those whom it forms, to recognise and assert others' Christian liberty, while they prize and use their own.

4. The last inquiry proposed was; If candidates for the ministry are to be prepared at the Divinity School of Harvard University, why is this to be with public aid? To this I answer; because the public wants their services, and because, without such aid, it cannot have them.

The public wants their services. These churches, — your churches, my friends, — are accustomed to look to that source for a supply, whenever, in providence, their places of pastoral instruction are made vacant. You who feel what the worth of a competent and devoted ministry is, you can realize with what solicitude you would be turning your eyes thither, should the light in which you and yours are now rejoicing be displaced or quenched; and, as to all of you, or of those who shall succeed you, this privation must repeatedly come, you perceive what a strong individual concern each may reasonably feel to see this institution even now in a prosperous state, and such numbers resorting to it as may afford a promise that the standard of ministerial character will be henceforward continually rising, and the wants of all the churches be anticipated, if it may be, by a liberal supply. But anticipated it is altogether impossible that they should be, for a very long time to come. To the extent of the suggestion which I am about to make, I am aware that there are some who think it cannot be sustained. But this has only led me to examine the grounds of it more attentively, and the result has been a more complete conviction of its justness. I am persuaded, then, that if we could forthwith send out a hundred candidates for the ministry from the Cambridge school, of average pretensions, every one of them might be placed in some desirable situation of usefulness before a year should expire. This, I repeat it, is my own deliberate conclusion, from such facts as have come within my knowledge, relating to the demand for services of the kind which they render. Some churches send for candidates till they are weary of sending, and in discouragement are either dissolved, or invite some one whose doctrines and manner of ministration would repel them, had they any other resource. Other organized churches are prevented from making the application, by being told that it would be in vain. Others, all ready and anxious to organize themselves, stop short of this step for the same reason; and in a still greater number of neighbourhoods, through the length and breadth of our continent, well known to be ripe for it, and to be able to maintain, and ardently longing to possess, a religious institution such as they are sure would profit their souls and their children's, and make this earth a place of far more happiness as well as improvement to them and others, the movement is never made, for the same reason of the deficiency of this supply.

While the public is so interested in the provision in question, — while the church so wants and craves it, — while a hundred candidates for the ministry, or as many less as any one may suppose, would only satisfy the present demand, — only ten are to be dismissed from this school this year, and the number, if my recollection be not erroneous, has not commonly, perhaps scarcely ever, been so great. Why is this? I do not say that I shall assign the only reason, in recurring to the remark which I just now made on the necessity of further pecuniary aid. One other, and even a more considerable reason, — but one, however, which we cannot obviate, — is, that the influence exerted on students' minds at most other colleges where young men obtain their preparation to enter on theological studies, is such as to disincline them to come hither to conduct those studies. A few pupils have of late been furnished us from the colleges of Rhode Island and of Maine; but while, as hitherto, the sole or principal supply has been from the graduates of Harvard College, and while a fifth, or certainly a quarter part of each class graduated there, would be a large proportion to be found devoting themselves to the ministry, and while some of those who do, — owing to the free spirit of the place, which exempts them from the necessity of any doctrinal bias, — are found with such opinions as lead them to seek their further education elsewhere, we cannot be at a loss for one reason why the number of our students has been as yet so small.

But another reason is more to our present purpose. The public, which wants this supply, has something to do towards providing it. Not every thing; — that I am very far from saying. Towards great part of the needful provision, my friends, it is quite evident that you can take no step. The providence of God must furnish talent; and for the disposition to devote it to this work, and for that spirit of piety and zeal which this work demands, the churches must consent to be indebted to the divine grace, to the instructions of devout parents, to the efforts of the ministry already existing, and to the self-discipline of religious young men. If a competent ministry is to be perpetuated, young men, from generation to generation, must present themselves for the service of the churches with the most essential part of their preparation already made. It is only the finishing part, the

intellectual and practical part of that preparation, which others can have an agency in giving; and, when the rest must of necessity be provided for them, will they lose the benefit of it, when it has been provided, by neglecting to do what is further needful to make it available to their use?

I trust, my friends, that, whatever interest I may take in this subject, I have not lost the power of discriminating upon it. I should greatly hesitate to urge before you the claims of what are called Education Societies;—societies which, finding a young man at the plough or in the work-shop disposed to change his calling for that of a minister, take him up, and carry him at little or no present expense to himself, through all the steps of his preparation for that office. With whatever caution administered, I should tremble to think of the possible effect of such societies to provide a mercenary ministry. To a young man in the humbler walks of industry, becoming a minister appears to be bettering his condition; and when this can be done chiefly at others' cost, the temptation cannot but be strong, and the minds of such be subjected to a powerful bias to suppose themselves directed to this employment by a religious motive, when, if they examined more closely, they might find it only a worldly calculation. I would have our charity reserved from such an equivocal, not to say, hurtful, use, for the assistance of those who have completed their course of literary education. With such an education, a person seems out of reach of the temptation to engage in the ministry for the sake of advancing himself. It would be bold to affirm that, in this country, where such prizes are held out to talent and information, any well educated young person betakes himself to the ministry for the sake of a living. There is no other employment, that engages eminent men, in which the compensation,—since the argument compels us to speak of such things,—is in so small proportion to the labor. If a young man, with his literary education finished, be merely mercenary, rely upon it he will not become a minister. He can do better. He will devote himself to one of the lucrative professions. Or, if he have not courage for the hazards of these, he has a sure resource in the business of instruction, where his knowledge, used with less pains, will command a higher price, and his situation, under the present circumstances of

the greater part of our churches,—those, I mean, in our country towns, will be generally more secure.

If, then, a young man, with his literary education completed, is beyond being bribed into the ministry by the mere facilities of education for it, it is safe to render him assistance in obtaining that education. I conceive that it is also greatly for the interest of the churches. In all ages, the church has drawn some of its brightest ornaments from the poorer, at least not the richer, portion of society; and though, among ourselves, there have been, from the earliest times to the present, an uncommon number of instances of a different sort, it is still from that source that the supply is likely, in no inconsiderable part, to be furnished. A young man, so circumstanced, commonly leaves college embarrassed by a debt, which it is his first object to discharge. To effect this, he engages in the business of instruction; and, this accomplished, it is reasonable to expect that he will continue in that business, or adventure in some other, unless they are truly upright views which impel him to the Christian ministry. He has moreover shown a competency to it in one respect, in the resolution with which he has struggled through the embarrassments of his previous course; and is known to be so far worthy of aid. If aid be afforded him, the church has soon the accession of a minister, at least conscientiously disposed to the work. If it be not, he either abandons the object in discouragement, or at least, while he is obtaining the means of prosecuting it, some of the most active years of his life are lost to the great object to which he desires it should be devoted; and does not either side of this alternative deserve the care of Christians to prevent it?

[The remainder of the discourse was chiefly taken up with statements relating to the condition and wants of the school, during the academic year which is now closed. It may be proper here merely to mention, that the necessary annual expenses of a student are estimated at two hundred dollars, including personal charges of every kind, as well as sixty-six dollars paid in term-bills for instruction, rent and care of room and furniture, and use of text-books. Fourteen students were aided last year from the funds, receiving an average allowance of eighty-three dollars each. Of the sum thus appropriated, six hundred and thirty dollars were fur-

nished from the Hopkins foundation. The other chief resources have been hitherto the bounty of individuals associated for the purpose in different religious societies of Boston, Salem, and Charlestown, and the contributions taken at the annual meeting of the Society for Promoting Theological Education. The number of applications for aid was last year unusually small; and, from particular circumstances, the collection was imperfectly made. It is greatly desirable, that the number of members of the Society for promoting Theological Education should be enlarged, and especially that the attention of liberal benefactors should be turned to the establishment of permanent scholarships, yielding an income of one hundred and fifty dollars each.]

ART. VI. — *A New Translation of the Book of Psalms, with an Introduction.* By GEORGE R. NOYES. Boston. Gray & Bowen. 1831. 12mo. pp. xxviii, 232.

OF all the books that were ever known among men, the one which has been most read, most repeated, most translated, versified, quoted, imitated, got by heart, studied, and sung, is doubtless that collection of Hebrew poems, called the Book of Psalms. And this is no wonder. There never was a book so eminently calculated to engage human affection. Praise to God, in the most sublime and elevated strains; confession, complaint, and supplication the most humble and touching; thanksgiving the most ardent; expressions of joy, hope, triumph, confidence, and trust, and of grief, fear, despondency, and pain, the most lively and natural; descriptions of the works of God the most beautiful and true; devotion in all its depth and variety of manifestation, are all embodied in this book. If we would exalt the majesty of the Most High, we cannot do better than borrow language for the purpose from the Psalms. If we would magnify his loving-kindness and mercy, there are no words which will more adequately speak the feelings of our hearts than those which we may find in the Psalms. And how can the great truths and mysteries of life and death, the

blessedness of the righteous, and the misery of the wicked, the swiftness of time and the brevity and vanity of our mortal years, be set forth with more strength and pathos, than by adopting verse after verse from the Psalms?

To all this power of thought and language is to be added the power of music; for the Psalms are sacred songs, and were at first intended to be, and from the first have been sung, in every age of the Jewish and Christian churches, and in the original and numerous other tongues. The chords of passion and the melodies of the human soul, which they strike and wake, have been accompanied by the sound of trumpet and harp, of psaltery and the loud cymbals, of the later organ, and the yet diviner voice of man. What a rich and glorious cloud of harmony must have pervaded the great temple at Jerusalem, as the triumphant ode was shouted and shouted back from one bright-robed company of Levites to another, or the plaintive dirge was wailed forth in alternate stanzas, and died away among the far porches and courts! And when there was no more any temple at Jerusalem, and its Priests and Levites were dispersed, and its instruments of music were broken, the Psalms which had been sung there ceased not, but had as intense a life as before, springing warmly from Christian lips, as the first feeble but dauntless bands of Nazarenes met to show forth the death of their Master, or as afterwards the splendid churches of their dominant faith echoed to the ancient Songs of Zion. And from those times to these, when or where has Christian worship been without them? In the Greek church, and the Roman, and the English, they have constituted an important part of their respective liturgies. In lofty cathedrals they have been chanted, as in the Temple of old; in humble parish churches and remote village meetinghouses, they have been sung wherever two or three have been gathered together; they have gone up daily and nightly from convent shades and hermit cells, and from the closets of those who have taken on themselves no vows but those of their silent consciences and devoted hearts.

Thus recommended by intrinsic excellence and by the most interesting associations, the book of Psalms has always been regarded with veneration and affection, and spoken of in terms of almost unqualified eulogy. In the preface to the '*Psalterium Americanum*,' a curious translation, printed

in Boston more than a century ago,* the writer says, 'The commendations which the ancients gave of this unparalleled book, are as high as the tongue of man can carry them; and the commendations would not be too high, if the tongue of angels who possessed the writers of this book, were employed for the giving of them. Let Chrysostom and Basil alone be called in, to declare unto us the sense of all the rest! Chrysostom, who calls this wonderful book *The Christian Panoply*; and Basil, who styles it *The Common Treasure of all good Precepts*, and *A complete Body of Divinity*.' 'There have been,' he says in another place, 'profane, foolish, empty pretenders to literature, who have had no great relish for the Psalms of David. But with men who have had a just sense, a true gust of things, no writings in the world have been so relished as these matchless gifts of Heaven unto the children of men.' One more extract from this quaint writer may not fatigue our readers. 'Theodoret informs us, the people in his time were so well acquainted with our Psalms, that both in city and country it was the usual employment of all Christians to sing them; and even they who had little acquaintance with any other book of the Sacred Scriptures, yet so had the Psalms by heart, as to recreate themselves with singing them in the streets, and in the fields, as well as in their houses. And verily, these marvellous poems have not by their age lost any thing of their spirit or their goodness. The Christians in our days

* The title of this book, now scarce, is as follows: '*Psalterium Americanum. The Book of Psalms, in a Translation exactly conformed unto the Original; but all in Blank Verse, fitted unto the Tunes commonly used in our Churches. Which pure Offering is accompanied with Illustrations digging for hidden Treasures in it; and Rules to employ it upon the glorious and various Intentions of it. Whereto are added some other Portions of the Sacred Scripture, to enrich the Cantional.* Boston: in N. E. Printed by S. Kneeland, for B. Eliot, S. Gerrish, D. Henchman, and J. Edwards, and sold at their shops. 1718.' The 'Blank Verse' of this translation is certainly the blankest we ever read. The verses which follow, being the ninth and tenth of the 65th Psalm, are a fair specimen of the whole book. — 'The earth with rain thou visitest || after that thou hast made || it to desire the rain, thou dost || enrich it mightily. || The river of God with waters is || richly replenished; || Thou dost prepare them corn; 'tis so || that thou preparest it. || Water its ridges plenteously; || On 't's furrows O descend; || With show'rs thou mak'st it soft; Thou dost || bless what does spring from it. ||' How could human ears, in any age, bear this?

may as well feed and live upon them, and *eat the bread of angels.*'

We certainly shall not agree with our ancient friend, in calling this book 'an unparalleled book,' and a 'matchless gift of Heaven unto the children of men,' while we remember that we have the books of the New Testament, and while some parts of the Psalms seem to us to be little fitted for Christian or modern use. But 'marvellous poems' the Psalms undoubtedly are; and being metrical compositions, of convenient length, of an exciting, warming, and affecting character, and calling in the aid of music, will probably always be, as they surely have hitherto been, more used as a whole, and in various ways, than any other compositions, sacred or profane. Perhaps the most beautiful encomium which has been bestowed on them, is that which was pronounced by Bishop Horne, which is quoted by Mr. Noyes in his Introduction, and part of which we here requote. 'In them,' says he, 'we are instructed to conceive of the subjects of religion aright, and to express the different affections which, when so conceived of, they must excite in our minds. They are, for this purpose, adorned with the figures, and set off with all the graces of poetry; and poetry itself is designed yet further to be recommended by the charms of music, thus consecrated to the service of God; that so delight may prepare the way for improvement, and pleasure become the handmaid of wisdom, while every turbulent passion is calmed by sacred melody, and the evil spirit is still dispossessed by the harp of the son of Jesse.' This allusion to the influence of David's youthful minstrelsy over the perturbed spirit of Saul, is one of the happiest applications of Scripture history.

The argument which may be drawn from the extraordinary excellence of the Hebrew Psalms, in support of the divine origin of the Jewish law, and the reality of the revelations alleged to have been made to the Jewish people, is thus forcibly stated by Mr. Noyes.

'Let the unbeliever compare the productions of the Hebrew poets with those of the most enlightened periods of Grecian literature. Let him explain how it happened, that in the most celebrated cities of antiquity, which human reason had adorned with the most splendid trophies of art, whose architecture it is now thought high praise to imitate well, whose sculpture almost gave life to marble, whose poetry has never been surpassed, and

whose eloquence has never been equalled, a religion prevailed so absurd and frivolous, as to be beneath the contempt of a child at the present day; while in an obscure corner of the world, in a nation in some respects imperfectly civilized, were breathed forth those strains of devotion, which now animate the hearts of millions, and are the vehicle of their feelings to the throne of God. Let him say, if there be not some ground for the conclusion, that, whilst the corner-stone of the heathen systems of religion was unassisted human reason, that of the Jewish was an immediate revelation from the Father of lights.' — p. v.

Such being the popularity, the influence, and the divinity of the Psalms, it is a matter of great moment that we should have them well and faithfully translated. With the poetical versions of them which we possess, we are abundantly satisfied. We own that we do not believe that they will ever be better versified in English, than they have already been by Tate and Brady, Watts, Doddridge, Merrick, and Montgomery; from whom a perfectly satisfactory collection may be made of all those Psalms and portions of Psalms, which are suitable to be sung in Christian churches and assemblies. But when we speak of a translation, we mean a translation of the whole book, which shall be both faithful and elegant, and which shall amend those passages of the common translation which are either rude, incorrect, or unintelligible. Such a translation has been long wanted by the Christian community, and such a one has, in our opinion, just been presented to it by Mr. Noyes, who had before shown himself equal to such a work by his admirable translation of the Book of Job. Of the two books, the translation of the Psalms was the most needed; not, however, because the common version of the Psalms is inferior to that of Job, but because the Book of Psalms is, and must necessarily continue to be, in far more general use than the Book of Job.

But why should we not be contented with the common version of the Psalms? Is it not good English? Is it not for the most part intelligible? Does it not abound in passages of exceeding beauty? Is there not enough in it to make us feel, and enough to make us wise and holy? A cheerful and grateful affirmative may be returned to all these interrogatories. For the great purposes of piety, for worship, and for duty, the common version is sufficient. There is no need of a new version to make us understand the morality of the First Psalm,

from its beginning to its end, nor to make us feel the tender and trusting piety of the Twenty-third, from the first verse, 'The Lord is my Shepherd; I shall not want,' to the last, 'Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.' And so with many others. We go further than this. We say that we should be prejudiced against any translator who should widely depart from the old simplicity of such a Psalm as is the Twenty-third in the common version. We should mourn over the aberration. From such a specimen of his taste, we should be led to suspect the correctness of his taste altogether. But in a translation of this or any other portion of the Scriptures, is all we want, all we ought to ask for, a general faithfulness to the original, a general intelligibility? Shall we be satisfied to have many things poorly and clumsily expressed, and many expressed so ambiguously or unmeaningly that they might as well have been left in the Hebrew? No. We want the whole translated, and as well translated as possible; and as the common version is encumbered with not a few defects, what we require in a new translation, is, that while it effects no needless alteration, and preserves every former beauty, it shall clear away those defects, and make what was rough smooth, and what was obscure plain, and what was unintelligible not hard to be understood. This has been accomplished, in a remarkably satisfactory manner, in the translation before us. Wherever the common version approved itself to good taste and sound criticism, its language has been for the most part retained. In such a Psalm as the Twenty-third, to offer it again as an instance, a change of two or three words only is made. We read nothing perceptibly different from what we have been accustomed to read. So with the Nineteenth, 'The heavens declare the glory of God'; so with several other whole Psalms, and with verses and passages in all the Psalms. But where the common version was found to be faulty, it has been amended according to the judgment of the present translator. A few examples, casually selected, may show the value of these improvements, as well as the need there was of improvement.

In the Sixteenth Psalm, second and third verses, we read in the common version thus; '*O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord, Thou art my Lord: my goodness extendeth not to thee; but to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excel-*

lent, in whom is all my delight.' What idea does a plain reader receive from the assertion, that the Psalmist's goodness extended not to the Lord, but to the saints that are in the earth? The new translation relieves his perplexity by the following simple lines.

'I have said to Jehovah, Thou art my Lord;
I have no happiness without thee!
The holy that are in the land, and the excellent,
In them is all my delight.'

In the common version of that exquisite Psalm, the Forty-second, beginning 'As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God,' there are many lines which no one would wish to see altered, or need to have explained. But in the seventh verse we read, '*Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts: all thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.*' We know, indeed, from many other places in the Scriptures, that great afflictions are represented under the similitude of overwhelming waters, just as in our own language we say 'floods of grief' to express great sorrows; and therefore we want no explanation of the second clause of this verse. But this does not assist us in getting at the meaning of the first clause, 'Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts.' When we open the new translation, we are at once enlightened, for we read there,

'Deep calleth for deep; thy cataracts roar;
All thy waves and billows have gone over me.'

The Fifty-eighth Psalm is an invective of David against wicked rulers. In the ninth verse we find the following obscure language, '*Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath.*' The translation of Mr. Noyes, together with the note appended to this verse, gives us ideas instead of mere sounds.

'Before your pots feel the heat of the thorns,
Whether fresh or burning, they shall be blown away.'

The note informs us that 'This verse contains a proverb, of which the meaning is, Your plans shall be defeated, or shall indeed have no chance of succeeding. The proverb is probably drawn from fires made in the desert for culinary purposes, which the wind sometimes destroyed.'

Psalm Seventy-fourth is a lament, or mournful plea with God, on account of the desolation of the temple, either by the

Babylonians or Chaldeans, and other grievous afflictions of the Hebrew nation. It begins, in the common version, 'O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever? why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture? Remember thy congregation, which thou hast purchased of old; the rod of thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed; this mount Zion, wherein thou hast dwelt.' So far it is sufficiently intelligible. '*Lift up thy feet*' it thus proceeds, in the third verse, '*unto the perpetual desolations, even all that the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary.*' Here, too, the reader may possibly understand the meaning of the Psalmist, and perceive that the help of the Lord is called to the desolate and violated condition of the temple; but he will not perceive it by any means so readily as he will in the new translation, which gives the verse thus;

'Hasten thy steps to those utter desolations;
Every thing in the sanctuary the foe hath abused!'

Nor will he comprehend the fourth verse in the common translation, '*Thine enemies roar in the midst of thy congregations; they set up their ensigns for signs,*' so distinctly as when it is rendered to him as in Mr. Noyes's translation,

'Thine enemies roar in the place of thine assemblies;
Their own symbols have they set up for signs.'

But when he comes to the fifth verse, in connexion with the sixth, he will, in all probability, be entirely at a stand. He will read, '*5 A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees. 6 But now they break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers.*' What relation, he may exclaim, what manner of relation has the former verse with the latter, and what can the former mean? The following translation will immediately bring him out of palpable obscurity into clear light.

'5 They appeared like those who raise the axe against a thicket;

6 They have broken down the carved work of thy temple with axes and hammers.'

Not only is the darkness now cleared away, but a graphic delineation is introduced into the place where the darkness had been. The bands of sacrilegious invaders are shown to us among the tall columns and richly carved tracery of the temple, laying about them with their instruments of destruc-

tion, and are compared to a company of wood-cutters, seen plying their work amidst the living pillars, arches, and foliage of a forest. The picture which is thus suddenly brought into the light, the figure which thus leaps out of obscurity, are of the most striking description. Instead of groping and hesitating in an unknown place, we are brought at once into the reality of a moving and resounding scene.

In that fine and solemn Psalm, the Ninetieth, which is ascribed to Moses,* and which is used in the Episcopal Burial Service, the beauty of the passage beginning, 'The days of our years are threescore years and ten,' and consisting of the tenth and two following verses, is much marred, as we have always thought, by the mistiness of the eleventh verse; '*Who knoweth the power of thine anger? even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath.*' Nor is this rendering much improved in the old version retained in the Book of Common Prayer; though the first clause of the verse is correct. '*But who regardeth the power of thy wrath? for even thereafter, as a man feareth, so is thy displeasure.*' The last clause is as obscure as in the common version. But let us read the whole passage as we find it in the new translation, substituting, however, 'weariness' for 'weakness,' which we understand to be an error of the press.

- ' 10 The days of our life are seventy years,
And, by reason of strength, may be eighty years;
Yet is their pride weariness and sorrow;
For it vanisheth swiftly, and we fly away.
- 11 Yet who attendeth to the power of thine anger?
Who, with due reverence, regardeth thine indignation?
- 12 Teach us so to number our days,
That we may imbue our hearts with wisdom!'

Here the sense flows on uninterruptedly and affectingly. We are not coldly stopped, after the pathetic truths of the tenth verse, to question the signification of the eleventh, but are rather brought to apply its serious and searching inquiries to our own souls.

* For the gratification of those who may like to see what sort of 'hidden treasures' the author of the *Psalterium Americanum* spent his time in 'digging for,' we subjoin the following portion of a note on this Psalm. 'One of the Ancients has a pious fancy here. The name of *Moses* is, *One drawn from under the waters*. And so, says he, *This is a Psalm especially cut out for all Baptized Persons.*'

A single word, appropriately thrown in, is often, in Mr. Noyes's translation, a guide to the explanation of a dark and doubtful saying. We shall not be like to perceive the meaning at once of the fourteenth verse of the Sixty-eighth Psalm, as it stands in the common version. '*When the Almighty scattered kings in it, it was white as snow in Salmon.*' But we shall immediately understand the comparison, by reading,

'When the Most High destroyed the kings in the land,
It was white with their bones like Salmon.'

And equally important is frequently a slight change of collocation. For instance let us take the ninety-eighth verse of the Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm. '*Thou, through thy commandments, hast made me wiser than mine enemies: for they are ever with me.*' We might, in reading this, make the mental inquiry, Who are ever with me, 'thy commandments,' or 'mine enemies'? The collocation might lead us to answer, 'mine enemies.' But this answer would be wrong, and we should not have hesitated at all, if we had read thus;

'Thou hast made me wiser than my enemies by thy precepts;
For they are ever before me.'

We have said much in praise of this new translation, but not more than we think is justly due to it. We have observed some instances in which Mr. Noyes has departed from the common version, where we should have preferred an adherence to it; and one or two more, in which his translation has not seemed to us to convey so probable a meaning as that of some other interpreter. It is very seldom, however, that he has not left a doubtful text plainer than he found it; and for continuity of sense and harmonious flow of sound, his Psalms are to be read throughout with more pleasure and profit than any other translation of them with which we are acquainted. Regarding this volume as intended for popular use, rather than as a critical help to the student, we have noticed it in a corresponding manner. Should Mr. Noyes favor us, as we hope he will, and that soon, with an additional volume of notes, we shall expect to examine his labors more thoroughly.

We do not look to see this or any other translation supersede the one in common use. We regard it as altogether improbable, as almost impossible, that all English Christendom will for a long period to come, if ever again, unite in

adopting the same version of the Scriptures, should that of king James be repudiated. Let the common version, then, remain in our families, in our schools, in our churches. It is a bond of union among us all, of all denominations, the value and strength of which may be greater than we know. But let us understand it; and let us have helps to the understanding or correction of it, that we may read it intelligently as well as reverently. Our apparatus for this purpose need not be cumbersome or expensive. A family will hardly want any other aid, for instance, to the right understanding of the Psalms, than this new translation by Mr. Noyes. Let it be kept by the side of the Family Bible, as the interpreter of a very important portion of it. Let the translator's excellent Preface be carefully read, and then, with the help of the few notes scattered through the book, we know not what will be wanting to the profitable perusal of those divine and ancient songs.

ART. VII. — *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated, as it exists, both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, Ancient and Modern.* By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq. Vol. II. *Being a Delineation of the State in point of Practice.* London. 1830. 8vo. pp. xlv, 452.

WHEN the slave-trade was abolished by Great Britain in 1807, it was confidently expected by the friends of that measure, that it would soon lead to the mitigation and abolition of slavery. In this confidence they remained inactive for a few years. It at length became apparent that no measures of importance for the improvement of the slaves would be voluntarily adopted by the colonial legislatures. New efforts were therefore made by the friends of humanity to call into action the energy of the British government to soften and finally abolish the system of oppression which disgraced the colonies of the empire. Among other means adopted for this purpose was the establishment, we believe about ten years ago, of a Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing Slavery throughout the British Dominions. This society has continued in successful operation ever since its first formation, and has done much to forward the great work

in which it is engaged. In May, 1823, three resolutions were passed by the House of Commons, expressing the expediency of 'adopting effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the slave population' of the colonies; and by these measures of raising them, at the earliest possible period, to a participation in the civil rights and privileges of other subjects. It was hoped, that the opinion of the House, thus expressed, would induce the colonial legislatures to adopt specific measures for the improvement of their slave population, and thus render the direct interposition of Parliament unnecessary. The exertions of the friends of abolition, though not entirely stopped, were in some degree checked by this slow and cautious policy of the government. Time, however, has completely proved that nothing is to be expected from the West Indian legislatures. The acts which they have passed have all been of the most unsatisfactory character, and obviously intended, not to benefit their slaves, but to delude the imperial government by an apparent compliance with some part of the recommendation in the resolutions.

Hitherto no legislative measure has been adopted by the British government, since the abolition of the African slave-trade, which can have a very powerful influence in mitigating the evils of slavery, except the law forbidding the inter-colonial slave-trade, which was passed a few years ago. In 1829 Orders in Council were passed, by which the free black and colored population of Trinidad, St. Lucia, and the Cape of Good Hope, which are crown colonies,* have been placed on an entire equality in regard to civil and political rights with other British subjects in those places. This measure, it is true, does not directly act upon the condition of the slaves, but, indirectly, its influence will be most important, by removing the prejudices which exist against their color.

In consequence of the obstinate determination which the white inhabitants of the colonies have exhibited not to do

* All our readers may not understand the distinction between the crown, and the chartered colonies. The former are governed entirely by the orders passed by the king in the privy council, having no legislative assemblies; the latter have legislative assemblies, in which their laws are made, which, however, they are obliged to submit to the king for approval or rejection.

any thing for the relief of their oppressed brethren, the friends of emancipation have, for a long time past, been exerting themselves more earnestly than ever to procure the interposition of Parliament. Their exertions have not been unavailing. The subject has been again and again brought before that body. The advocates for the abolition of slavery have been constantly increasing in numbers. The facts and arguments which the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter' and other publications on the same side, have presented to the public, appear to have produced a very deep impression throughout Great Britain, that the situation of the blacks in the colonies demands the instant interposition of the national government for their relief. The general feeling on the subject may be estimated from the following statements of the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter.' It informs us that the public meetings 'for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the Abolition of Slavery, had been numerous beyond all example.' 'The number of petitions for the Abolition of Slavery presented to the House of Commons from the commencement of the Session in October, 1830, to the Dissolution of Parliament on the twenty-third of April, 1831, was *five thousand four hundred and eighty-four*; — a number far larger, it is believed, than has ever before been presented in one Session on any other subject of public interest.' Many of these petitions, which were adopted at large public meetings, prayed for the immediate abolition of slavery. A petition of this kind was voted at a public meeting in Edinburgh, which was afterwards signed by upwards of twenty-two thousand persons. Resolutions in favor of immediate abolition were also adopted at a public meeting in Liverpool. These proceedings show a remarkable advance in public opinion. A few years ago immediate abolition would have probably been pronounced a rash and hasty measure, by a great majority of those by whom it is now recommended. This change in public sentiment can only be ascribed to the publications which have been made on the subject.

If we are not entirely mistaken in the conclusion to be drawn from the expressions of the general feeling of Great Britain, the time is fast approaching when Parliament will pass laws either for the immediate or the gradual abolition of slavery in the colonies of the empire. A more favorable time could not be chosen for bringing the subject before that

assembly, than the present, when the party which is at the head of the government contains among its members so many who have pledged themselves to the cause of emancipation. Lord Brougham, to specify no others, was, while a member of the House of Commons, its most strenuous advocate. We trust that a regard to his character and his conscience will prevent him from abandoning it, while he is in power.

The publication of the work of Mr. Stephen, named at the head of our article, we consider as most auspicious to the ultimate triumph of the cause of humanity. Before, however, giving an account of the contents of this volume, we shall present our readers with some particulars respecting the author, which we think will be found not devoid of interest. Our information on these points is drawn principally from the Prefaces to the two volumes of his work.

All who have attended to the controversy which has been going on for many years, respecting colonial slavery, have heard of the name of James Stephen. But the nature and extent of his conscientious, long-continued, and devoted exertions for the benefit of the African race, are probably not generally known in this country.

In his Preface to the Second Volume, he narrates the circumstances that prevented him from experiencing the corrupting effects which familiarity with slavery is too apt to produce. In the year 1783 he sailed from England to St. Christopher, in a vessel which touched on the voyage at Barbadoes. At this latter place he attended the trial of four plantation slaves for the murder of a physician. We give the story in his own words.

‘The court, consisting of a bench of justices of the peace, five I think in number, without a jury, was no sooner constituted, than the four black prisoners were placed at the bar; and, as they were the first common field negroes I had seen, their filthy and scanty garbs would have moved my pity, if it had not been more strongly excited by the pain they were visibly suffering from tight ligatures of cord round their crossed wrists, which supplied the place of hand-cuffs. I noticed it to my companion, and said, “Surely they will be put at bodily ease during their trial”; but he replied it was not customary. As there was no indictment, or other express charge, and consequently no arraignment, they had not to hold up their hands;

and remained bound in the same painful way while I remained a spectator.

‘But the first proceeding of the bench changed the sensation of pity in my breast into honest indignation. It was the production and reading by the chairman of a letter received by him from a gentleman, who was owner of two of the prisoners, and who had been written to with an inquiry, whether he would choose to employ a lawyer in the defence of his slaves; and the answer was, that he declined to do so, adding as his reason, “*God forbid that he should wish in such a case to screen the guilty from punishment.*” To the best of my recollection, these were the very words: I am sure such was the exact import of the letter.

‘I turned with a look of astonishment to my conductor; but before I could whisper my feelings, they were diverted from the master to the bench; for to my astonishment the chairman applauded the letter, as honorable to the writer; and the other magistrates concurred in his eulogy.

‘Strangely misplaced though I felt it to be, and shocked though I was at such a cruel prejudication of the unfortunate prisoners by their natural protector, I supposed that the commendation rested on his disinterestedness, in being willing to sacrifice his property in their bodies, without opposition to the demands of public justice; for I did not then know of the laws noticed in my first volume, pp. 322 to 328, which entitle a master, on the conviction and execution of his slave, to be paid for his loss of property out of the public purse. The lawyers’ fees in consequence would have been a profitless expense.

‘Not only was there no written charge, but, no opening of the case, on the part of the prosecution. The prisoners had to learn it, as I did, only from the evidence adduced; the uncontroverted part of which was briefly as follows.

‘The deceased had been visiting a certain estate in his usual routine as its medical attendant; and after seeing the patients, mounted his horse, to return to his residence in town. A negro of the estate the same morning brought in the horse with the saddle and bridle on, saying that he had found it grazing in one of the cane pieces; and the manager thereupon ordered it to be put into the stable; but did not send till the next day to give information of the occurrence at the doctor’s house; supposing, as he alleged, that the horse by some accident had got away from him, and would be sent for. The deceased, however, never returned to his home; and, an alarm naturally arising, he was inquired for at the estates he had

visited ; and after consequent searches, the body was found in a cane piece not far from the house he had last visited, with contusions on the head, such as a fall from his horse could not have occasioned, and which were the apparent cause of his death.

‘ So far there was nothing to affect either of the prisoners ; except that one of them, a very old negro, was the man who brought in the horse ; and though this was regarded as a leading circumstance of suspicion against him, it seemed to me of a directly opposite tendency.

‘ But a negro girl, or *wench*, as she was called in the ordinary style of the slave colonies, a deformed creature, apparently about fifteen years old, was next called, as the only witness who could bring the offence home, by positive testimony, to the prisoners.

‘ Before she was examined, she was addressed by the chairman in a way that carried my surprise and indignation to the utmost pitch. She was admonished in the most alarming terms, to beware not to conceal any thing that made against the prisoners ; and told that if she did, she would involve herself in their crime, and its punishment. No caution whatever was given as to any sin or danger on the opposite side. Every word implied a premature conviction in the mind of the court, that the prisoners were certainly guilty, and that she would be probably disbelieved and punished if she said any thing tending to acquit them. Terror was strongly depicted in her countenance during this address ; and I felt at the moment that had I been a jurymen to try the prisoners on her evidence, after such an exhortation, nothing she might testify against them would weigh a feather in my verdict.

‘ As the negro dialect was new to me, I should not have been able clearly to understand her testimony in many parts of it, without the assistance of my companion, who kindly whispered the interpretations that I asked for ; but her story in substance was, that the deceased rode up to the negro houses of a plantation she belonged to, for shelter against a shower of rain ; that he alighted, and gave his horse to one of the prisoners to hold ; and that thereupon he and the other three, the only persons present except herself, fell upon him with sticks, knocked him down, and beat him to death ; and afterwards carried his body to the cane piece in which it was found.

‘ No provocation, or other motive, was assigned by her, and her evidence, independently of the terror that had been impressed upon her, would have appeared to me, from its matter,

and the manner in which it was given, wholly unworthy of credit. The countenances and gesticulations of all the unfortunate men during her examination, impressed me with a strong persuasion of their innocence. Never were the workings of nature more clearly imitated by the most expert actor on any stage, if her whole narrative did not fill them with astonishment; and excite in them all the indignation that belongs to injured innocence. I expressed that feeling strongly to my conductor; and he dissented only by observing that negroes in general were masters of dissimulation; or something to that effect. * * *

'Here I must cease to narrate the case from my own direct knowledge. But the sequel was well supplied to me by evidence beyond suspicion. The same day I heard of what further passed on the trial, from persons who had staid in court to the end of it. No further evidence had fortified that of the negro *wench* in any material point. On the strength of her testimony alone, the magistrates had convicted all the prisoners of murder.' — *Preface*, Vol. II. pp. xix — xxiv.

'I left Barbadoes immediately after the trial, but heard soon after the sequel of the tragedy, from several gentlemen who came from that Island to St. Christopher. The court applied to the Governor, a planter of the Island, and one who afterwards gave a very favorable account of the general humanity of his brethren, before the privy council, for an *exemplary death*; and he ordered that the four convicts should be burnt alive.

'But what perhaps will be thought the most singular part of the case, remains to be told.

'The owner of two of the slaves, the same I believe who so *laudably* refused to employ a lawyer for them, on hearing of the evidence on which they had been convicted, in respect of time and place, was able to establish a clear *alibi* in their favor, to the satisfaction of the magistrates who had tried them; in consequence of which they were pardoned. But however incredible it may appear, the two other unfortunate men, convicted on the very same evidence, nevertheless underwent the cruel fate to which they were sentenced. They were literally burnt alive at Bridgetown.' — pp. xxv, xxvi.

'Such was the case which gave me my first right views of negro slavery in the sugar colonies, almost as soon as I reached their shores.' — p. xxvii.

'The case I have mentioned was every way calculated to rescue me at the outset from delusion. As a lawyer, I could not but be deeply impressed with the shocking contrast it pre-

sented to the impartial and humane administration of British justice, and its reversal of every principle that I had been taught to reverence, by writers on general jurisprudence. And how much were my indignant feelings augmented, when I learned, from an inquiry which it suggested, that white men in the same island were not only exempt from all such barbarous departures from the laws of England; but for the wilful murder of a slave, were liable only to a fine of fifteen pounds.' —p. xxviii.

In consequence of the impression produced by this trial, Mr. Stephen formed a resolution never to own a slave; and during a residence of eleven years at St. Christopher, he, with some inconvenience to himself, strictly adhered to this resolution. During his continuance there, he practised law. In answer to a charge which had been brought against him, by the advocates of slavery, of having been himself the owner of slaves, he says,

'I will be obliged to any reader, ignorant of my history and character, who will take the trouble to inquire of some of the respectable merchants or proprietors now in England, connected with the Leeward Islands, whether I ever held such property; and whether I was not, on the contrary, remarkable for the singularity of carrying my dislike to slavery so far as to have no domestics but hired servants, during the whole of my long residence in St. Christopher. Such was the well known fact. During the chief part of the time I had a family there, which required a pretty numerous domestic establishment, and it was a great breach of economy not to buy my servants; but I was served only by free persons of color, or, when I could not find such of a suitable character, by slaves let out to hire by their owners.

'Nor did I expose the latter to the disadvantages mentioned in this work as belonging to their situation in general. From the first it was my resolution, that such of them as served me long and faithfully, should not remain in slavery; and I acted up to that purpose. I obtained their manumissions, either by paying the whole value, or adding to what they had themselves saved for the purpose, or vindicating by law a right to freedom, which had, in one instance, been unjustly withheld. Not one of them who had served me for any considerable time without misbehavior was left in slavery; except in one instance, which may serve to show the hardships of that state in general. I repeatedly offered to purchase his freedom at his full value; but the owner

would not consent. At length he came from a distant island, at which he resided, to take the man away. To save the poor fellow, not only from slavery, but exile, I intreated the owner to accept his value, to be ascertained by any person of his own nomination, and when this was refused, to name his own price; but he was inexorable; and for no juster reason, but that he knew the man's integrity, and other valuable qualities, and therefore wanted him for his own domestic use. The slave's merits, therefore, and his fitness to make a right use of his freedom, formed, as too frequently happens, the bar to his attainment of it; and his reward was a perpetual exile from the connexions and the island which long settlement in it had endeared to him. In a Spanish or Portuguese colony, he might have compelled the master to enfranchise him by a judicial appraisement.' — *Preface*, Vol. i. pp. liv, lv.

After his return to England, it appears that his zeal for the abolition first of the slave-trade, and afterwards of slavery, was in some degree prejudicial to his private interest.

'Let me not be understood, however, as disclaiming all obligations to my West Indian clients and friends. To such of them as are living, and to many more, alas! whom I shall see no more till all human contentions are ended, I owe what is better than wealth, — great personal kindness, and long continued attachment. Their obliging preference followed me into practice here; and gave me, as a chamber counsel, and a practitioner at the Cockpit, advantages which, in my then circumstances, were of great importance, and were rapidly increasing, till, by taking a public part in the abolition controversy, I willingly renounced them. The greatest of the sacrifices that I have made to the cause I still feebly support, though they have been neither few nor small, was to encounter their displeasure; or rather, as I do many of them the justice to believe, an estrangement from me, which the irresistible impulse of an *esprit de corps* compelled them to, against their real feelings. They knew my sincerity; and could not in their hearts condemn me for maintaining in England, views and principles which I had always avowed and acted upon, often at no small personal risk, while resident among them.' — *Preface*, Vol. i. pp. lvi, lvii.

In 1802 he published a work, which we have never seen, entitled the 'Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,' intended to promote the abolition of the slave-trade. Since that time, he has always been forward and active in all the efforts

which have been made by the opponents of the slave-trade and of slavery. In 1807 he published the 'Dangers of the Country,' and in 1815 'Reasons for establishing a Registry of Slaves,' in relation to a measure which was then proposed. His speeches delivered at two general meetings of the African Institution, on the twenty-sixth of March, 1817, and the sixteenth of May, 1823, have also been published. The publications to which we have referred are all mentioned in the work before us. He has, we believe, also written and published other pieces in behalf of the slaves, which are not particularly referred to, and of which we have no means of preparing a list. He was for some time a member of Parliament, and in that situation faithfully persevered in his efforts in the cause to which he has devoted himself. In 1824 he published the First Volume of his work on 'The Slavery of the British West India Colonies,' in which he gives an accurate and methodical account of the law upon the subject, with much information in regard to the practical operation of the system. The author was engaged upon the work for many years, having begun it, as he informs us, before the abolition of the slave-trade. As this volume has already been spoken of in a former number of our Journal,* as well as in other periodical publications, with well-merited commendation, it is not our intention to take any further notice of it at this time.

The Second Volume, which is named at the head of this article, was, in some respects, a work of greater difficulty than the first. The laws of the colonies being all in print, could not admit of much dispute. We believe that Mr. Stephen's statements in his First Volume, so far as they relate to the law, have generally been admitted to be substantially correct. With regard, however, to the practice of slavery, the case is different. Not only is the practice of one island different from that of another, but that of one person is different from that of others on the same island. To give an account, therefore, of the practice on any single estate, would be far from proving, satisfactorily, the general custom of the island on which it was situated. It is obvious, also, that whatever statements might be made on the subject with regard to any island, might be contradicted by the example of particular estates on

* See Christian Examiner, Vol. IV. No. 3, for May and June, 1827.

the same island ; and that, however cruel the treatment of the negroes in particular instances might appear, the answer was at hand, that the whole system ought not to be condemned on account of the abuses of a few individuals. Besides, to all statements of facts made by the opponents of slavery, the objection would always lie, that they were prejudiced witnesses.

Nearly fifty years ago, the Rev. James Ramsay published '*An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies.*' This work was felt by the planters to bear with such severity on their system, that it provoked several replies. From that time to the present, a warm controversy has been raging in Great Britain, as to the actual condition of the slaves, in which a large number of writers, some of them of considerable ability, have taken part. Besides the testimony of these writers on the subject, a vast mass of evidence is contained in the printed Reports of the Committees of the Privy Council and House of Commons on the Slave-trade. These reports were made in reference to the abolition of the slave-trade, and contain the examinations of a great number of witnesses, who gave very various accounts of the condition of the negroes in the colonies. The advocates of slavery have commonly represented the general treatment of the slaves as being mild and humane ; its opponents, on the contrary, have declared that the slaves were usually over-worked and under-fed, and subjected to cruel punishments. To one who has not been accustomed, in weighing evidence, to make great allowances for the effects of interest, prejudice, passion, and mistake, the testimony on the two sides appears entirely irreconcilable. We do not undertake to say, that a careful scrutiny of the whole evidence, might not lead a disinterested inquirer to the truth upon most points. But the labor of extracting truth from a comparison of such a mass of contradictory statements, would have been immense, and it would not have been easy to present the arguments and conclusions in a shape which would be entirely satisfactory to general readers.

Viewing these difficulties, Mr. Stephen has constructed his work upon a singular plan, by which he has completely avoided them. He undertakes to establish every fact which he states, and which is denied on the part of the colonies, by the evidence of their own assemblies, witnesses, and partisans.

'There cannot be more satisfactory evidence than the admissions of an adversary's witnesses, especially when they stand also in the situation of parties accused, and when the admitted facts make against themselves, as well as against the cause they defend. — When there has been a previous clashing of testimony between the parties, and the question turns upon the comparative credit due to opposite witnesses, such admissions are peculiarly valuable, and conclusive. Hence, what seemed to be highly adverse to the cause of truth in the Slave-trade controversy, will perhaps be found to befriend it; for the witnesses produced on the side of the colonies were, for the most part, not only zealous partizans of the system they described, but interested, both by fortune and character, in its defence.

'The evidence to which I shall chiefly resort, that which was taken in the course of inquiries on the subject, by Parliament and the executive government, consists chiefly of accounts given by persons of this description; and of a species of evidence, which, when it tends to condemn the colonial system, is, if possible, still more conclusive; the answers solemnly given by the West India legislatures, and their public agents, to questions proposed by the Privy Council. What faith was due to such testimony, when it went to contradict the charges of abolitionists, or the testimony adduced by them, I shall not here stop to inquire; — its authority on that side will be better estimated, when we have seen a little of its particular style and character. But this may be safely affirmed, that better evidence cannot be had or desired, as to the facts that were in issue between the abolitionists and the colonial party, when its obvious effect was to substantiate the charges of the former; or to disprove the defence set up on the part of the latter.

'It is on such evidence that I shall chiefly rely; nor shall I assume the truth of any statement adverse to the colonial system that has ever been controverted, however unimpeachable the testimony may be on which it stands, until I have shown it to have been directly or indirectly confirmed by the same decisive evidence, the concessions of the colonists themselves.' — Vol. i. pp. 10, 11.

To the plan which Mr. Stephen thus proposes, he has carefully adhered in both volumes. He has been enabled, by means of it, to present a work to the public which carries to every unprejudiced mind a thorough conviction of its truth. No work, we have good reason to believe, ever published in England against slavery, has produced so deep an impression. It has inspired the friends of the abolition of slavery with hope and

confidence that the terrible system, which it exposes, cannot long be permitted to exist; and it has spread dismay among the supporters of colonial oppression,—a dismay which is only rendered more apparent by their feeble and ineffectual efforts to answer it.

The Second Volume, which alone it is our present intention to examine particularly, is remarkable as a specimen of moral reasoning. As the defenders of slavery, of course, have not, in most instances, made direct avowals of the full evils of the system, Mr. Stephen has often to point out the necessary, though not, at first view, apparent conclusions, to be drawn from the concessions which they make. Sometimes he shows that all the material facts in dispute are admitted by his opponents, though discolored and distorted by party feeling. Sometimes he compares the testimony of several persons, and extracts from them a truth which they were all desirous to conceal. Sometimes he demolishes the positions of an adversary, by showing his inconsistency with himself, and sometimes by adducing the opposing statements of others on the same side. He avails himself, with great judgment, of those unintentional intimations of the truth, which sometimes escape from the most thorough partisans, and, when they are pointed out, are more satisfactory to an inquirer than the most direct testimony. In short, he has neglected no means, by which truth could be extorted from reluctant witnesses. An adequate conception of the masterly skill with which he has performed his arduous undertaking, can scarcely be gained without going through the book. The conviction of the truth of his conclusions, is impressed on the reader with an irresistible force, like that which one receives from the *Horæ Paulinæ*. The reader is not only satisfied that the arguments are sound, but perceives that they do not admit of an answer.

Mr. Stephen in this volume gives an account of the treatment of the ‘predial slaves, commonly called *field negroes*,’ in the British sugar colonies.

We purpose to give a sketch of this part of his work, which we believe will be generally interesting, from its exhibiting a state of society that is not well understood among us, upon an authority which may be trusted with entire confidence, for he makes no assertion which is not abundantly supported by the concessions of his opponents.

The plan and object of Mr. Stephen, as stated by himself, are as follows.

‘ In delineating the ordinary exercise of these powers, I shall confine myself to the treatment of the predial slaves, commonly called the “*field negroes*” ; not only because these form by far the most numerous class, amounting, probably, to four-fifths of the whole enslaved population, but because it is upon them, that the slavery of the sugar colonies falls with the heaviest and most destructive pressure. *Domestics*, are likely to suffer more from the anger, the revenge, the suspicion, and other malevolent feelings of the master ; with whom they are brought, much oftener than the field negroes, into personal contact and collision ; but his avarice, that far wider and surer source of oppression, is opposed to the comfort, the health, and often the existence, of the predial slaves. They are on sugar plantations, as I shall show, universally over-worked, and for the most part under-fed, not because the proprietor is cruel, nor always because he is too greedy of gain, but because most proprietors are necessitous ; and because all, having acquired their estates after progressive competition had pushed the exaction of forced labor to its present extent, they cannot, without great sacrifice of present income, or the protection of a general law, reduce it to such bounds as would consist with the physical or moral well-being, or generally even with the preservation, of the slaves. I do not, therefore, mean to describe or notice, unless incidentally and by way of illustration, any of the oppressions under which they suffer, except those which I hold, and have ever held, to be the most cruel and destructive, as well as the most general and inherent to the system, excess of labor, and insufficiency of maintenance ; in other words, those abuses of the master’s power which arise from his selfish, not his malevolent feelings.

‘ Incidental, however, to these main topics, and inseparably connected with a fair consideration of them, is the discipline by which labor is coerced ; the harsh and brutalizing nature of which greatly aggravates the ill effects of its excess, and constitutes, at the same time, a third head of oppression, not less general than the two former, and springing from the same ordinary motives.

‘ My practical delineation, then, will be much narrower in its plan, though not, I fear, in its bulk, than my account of the Slave Laws ; and shall be arranged as follows : —

‘ 1. I will state and consider the forced labor imposed on the slaves of sugar plantations in its ordinary nature and amount ; premising some remarks on human labor in the Torrid Zone in

general, and subjoining a comparative view of agricultural labor in England.

‘2. I will describe the means of coercion and discipline by which their labor is enforced.

‘3. I will state the ordinary treatment of the slaves in respect of food, clothing, and other necessities provided by the master.’

— Vol. II. pp. 42, 43.

Without considering his preliminary remarks, in which he shows, most satisfactorily, that nature never intended that man should work so much in the torrid zone, as in more temperate climates, and that he can endure more labor in temperate climates without exhaustion, we pass to the labor actually done by the slaves in the sugar colonies. This, Mr. Stephen shows to be cruelly excessive, both in amount and degree. Before stating the evidence on this point, he has a chapter, in which, with great force of argument, he demonstrates ‘the high probability, that the amount of forced labor on sugar plantations, is oppressively and destructively excessive, deduced from the natural tendency of the system; and confirmed by the decline of population among the predial slaves.’

The constant progressive decline of the slave population in the British sugar colonies, is so notorious, that it is scarcely necessary to add any extracts on that subject, but we shall give a single statement, made by Mr. Stephen, which is truly startling. He says, that in ‘the last six years,’ referring, we presume, to all the sugar colonies ‘comprised in the official returns laid before Parliament, viz., from 1813 to 1824, the loss amounted to three per cent.’ He adds, in a note,

‘The waste of life is evidently in a larger proportion, by all the amount of that increase which should have been made by births, within the same period; and estimating this only by the rate of increase in the slaves of the United States, the loss in six years may be said to be more than 18 per cent., or 3 per cent. per annum, amounting in number to 145,331.’ — p. 77, *note*.

Mr. Stephen next considers the facts as to the amount of labor done by slaves. He states and demonstrates, that the slaves, during crop-time, work eighteen hours and more in a day, and at least sixteen on an average during the year. The mode of this labor is thus described by Mr. Ramsay, in a passage cited by Mr. Stephen. We should observe, that Mr. Ramsay, being an anti-slavery writer, is not adduced as evi-

dence by Mr. Stephen, but only as giving a clear statement of the case, which Mr. Stephen afterwards proves by many concessions on the part of his adversaries. Similar remarks might be made as to other extracts from Mr. Stephen, which we shall make hereafter. It is obvious, that to insert the argumentative part of the work, by which the statements are proved, would be impossible, without extending our extracts to a very inconvenient length.

“The discipline of a sugar estate,” says the writer, “is as exact as that of a regiment. At four o’clock in the morning, the plantation bell rings to call the slaves into the field. Their work is to manure, dig, and hoe-plow the ground, to plant, weed, and cut the canes, and bring them to the mill, &c. About nine o’clock they have half an hour for breakfast, which they take in the field. — Again they fall to work; and, according to the custom of the plantation, continue until eleven o’clock or noon. The bell then rings; and the slaves are dispersed in the neighbourhood to pick up, about the fences, in the mountains and fallows, or waste grounds, natural grass and weeds for the horses and cattle. The time allotted for this branch of work and preparation of dinner, varies from an hour and a half to near three hours. In collecting pile by pile their little bundles of grass, the slaves of lowland plantations, frequently burnt up by the sun, must wander in their neighbour’s grounds perhaps more than two miles from home.”

“After noticing some occasional hardships, to which the poor slave is exposed, by being punished as a trespasser, and having his bundle of grass taken away from him, after its painful collection, he adds, “At one, or in some plantations at two o’clock, the bell summons them to deliver in the tale of their grass, and assemble to their field-work. If the owner thinks their bundles too small, or if they come too late with them, they are punished with a number of stripes, from four to ten; some masters, under a fit of carefulness for their cattle, have gone as far as fifty stripes. About half an hour before sun-set, they may be found scattered again over the land, to cull again, blade by blade, from among the weeds, their scanty parcels of grass. About seven o’clock in the evening, or later according to the season of the year, when the overseer can find leisure, they are called over by list to deliver in their second bundles of grass; and the same punishment as at noon is inflicted on the delinquents. They then separate, to pick up, in their way to their huts, (if they have not done it, as they generally do, while gathering grass,) a little brushwood, or cow-dung, to prepare some simple mess for supper and to

morrow's breakfast. This employs them till near midnight; and then they go to sleep till the bell calls them in the morning."

"The work here mentioned," continues Mr. Ramsay, "is considered as the duty of slaves that may be insisted on, without reproach to the manager of unusual severity; and which the white and black overseers stand over them to see executed; the transgression of which is quickly followed with the smart of the cart-whip. In crop-time, which, he observes, may be reckoned together on a plantation from five to six months, the cane-tops, by supplying the cattle with food, give the slaves some little relaxation in picking grass; but some planters will, especially in moon-light keep their slaves till ten o'clock at night, in carrying wowra (the decayed leaves of the cane) to boil off the cane juice; a considerable number of slaves are kept to attend, in turn, the mill and boiling-house all night.

"The process of sugar-making is carried on in many plantations for months, without any other interruption than during some part of day-light on Sundays. In some plantations, it is the custom to keep the whole gang employed, as above, from morning to night, and alternately one half throughout the night, to supply the mill with canes, and the boiling-house with wowra."

"He admits that there are mitigations of this treatment among the more humane and liberal planters; and adds, "In some particular plantations they enjoy as much ease and indulgence, the grievance of picking grass, *and the circumstance of their being so long as sixteen hours out of the twenty-four under the lash of the drivers, excepted*, as are compatible with their present state of ignorance and dependence, and the accurate methodical cultivation of a sugar estate." ' — pp. 86 — 88.

It is proper that we should give Mr. Stephen's note on this passage.

"In undertaking to prove the truth of this account, I do not mean that it is accurate in every particular; or that it was so generally, in the sense that Mr. R.'s enemies ascribed to it; but only in his own. He meant to describe the practice as he had known it in St. Christopher, or in that island and Nevis alone; as clearly appears from the work itself. In Jamaica, and some other sugar colonies, the subjects, modes, and times of labor, are, and always have been, variant in some respects from those of the old colonies, which then formed the Leeward-island government; and I shall fully notice those varieties hereafter. The reverend author also admitted, as we have seen, that there was

less severity of treatment on some plantations in the same islands, than on others. He meant his account to be considered, therefore, as generally, not universally, true.

‘But I would direct the attention of my readers to the last extract, which I have printed in italics, as descriptive of the ordinary amount of daily labor, even on those estates which he notices as favorable exceptions. That this was not, and still is not, less than sixteen hours in the twenty-four, on an average, I trust clearly to establish in respect of the sugar-colonies at large; and, if this proposition is proved, it ought to be more than enough for my purpose.’ — pp. 88, 89, *note*.

After demonstrating how excessive the labor of the field slaves is, in point of duration, Mr. Stephen next shows how excessive it is in point of intensity. The process of holing is thus described.

“Holing” is the process of preparing land for the reception of the cane plants; for which purpose it is laid out in rectilinear trenches of considerable depth, which are divided into equal sections of about two feet square, and the work is wholly performed by the hoe. Its difficulty consists chiefly in the hard texture of the soil, trodden down in the labors of the preceding crop, and baked by the heat of a tropical sun during about nine months of an intervening fallow. The surface is quite impenetrable by the spade, and equals, in hardness, those soils to which our laborers apply the pick-axe. The hoe, therefore, for effectual penetration, must be raised above the workman’s head, and brought down with a vigorous stroke; and it will be found, that almost every colonial witness, or writer, who ascribes easiness to plantation labors in general, admits this large branch of them to be severe.’ — pp. 164, 165.

Mr. Stephen gives an account of various other labors in which the slaves are employed, some of which, especially those of cutting the canes, and feeding the fires in the mills, for making sugar, appear to be extremely severe from the rapidity with which the motions are performed.

In the sixth chapter of his work, Mr. Stephen compares the amount of the labor of slaves, on sugar plantations, with that of agricultural laborers in England. To this comparison he was led by the bold assertions which have been often made by the planters and their advocates, that the labor of the negro slave was much less than that of laborers in Great Britain. The result of this comparison we give in his own words;

‘ Let me proceed, then, to take up this gage, thrown down by almost all my antagonists, and to state what are the ordinary portions of working-time, which the best wages obtain from the ablest agricultural laborers in England. * * *

“ The time which the day-laborers in husbandry usually continue at their work, may, on an average throughout the year, be estimated at nine hours per diem.”

“ From Michaelmas to Christmas, making allowance for the different lengths of the days, they come to their work, one day with another, at seven in the morning, and leave it at five in the afternoon. Deducting two hours and a half for meals, going, and coming, there will remain seven hours and a half of clear labor. The same estimate may be made for the following quarter. From Lady-day to Midsummer, they come to their work at six o’clock, and leave it at the same hour in the evening ; but as the season is warmer, they are a longer time absent from their work (about three hours,) which will leave nine hours for work. In the other quarter, as the hay-season and the harvest comprehend the greater part of it, their wages are considerably higher, and more work is done ; and it may fairly be estimated, that from Midsummer to Michaelmas, a laborer, after all deductions for meals, going and coming, and every other cause of absence, is twelve hours at his work, one day with another. The average hours of work, in these several portions of the year, will amount to nine hours per diem, viz.

	Hours per diem.
Michaelmas to Christmas, . . .	7½
Christmas to Lady-day, . . .	7½
Lady-day to Midsummer, . . .	9
Midsummer to Michaelmas, . . .	12
	—
	36 — which,

divided by four, gives an average of nine hours.”

‘ What, then, are the comparative results ? They are, that the time of the slave-labor, to the time of the free-labor, is, on an average of the whole year, as sixteen, at least, to nine ; that the minimum of the former, much exceeds the maximum of the latter ; that in the crop-season of five months’ duration, the West India slave has but one half, at most, of the diurnal respite which the English laborer enjoys, even in the laborious harvest quarter, viz. six hours, (not to say five only,) instead of twelve.

The next chapter gives an account of the means by which labor is enforced on sugar plantations, which, as the author

truly remarks, greatly aggravate its severity, and are, in their nature and effects, extremely cruel and pernicious. The following is an account of the driving system, which he extracts from his own publication, 'The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies.'

"Every man who has heard any thing of West India affairs, is acquainted with the term *negro-drivers*, and knows, or may know, that the slaves, in their ordinary field-labor, are driven to their work, and during their work, in the strict sense of the term *driven*, as used in Europe; though this statement no more implies that the lash is incessantly, or with any needless frequency, applied to their backs, than the phrase to drive a team of horses imports, that the wagoner is continually smacking his whip." "It is enough for my purpose, that in point of fact no feature of West India slavery is better known, or less liable to controversy, or doubt, than this established method in which field-labor is enforced." (So I certainly thought when penning those paragraphs for the public. I had not then sufficiently learnt of what temerity, in assertion, my opponents were capable, when their bad cause required it.) "But a nearer and more particular view of this leading characteristic may be necessary to those who have never seen a gang of negroes at their work."

"When employed in the labor of the field, as for example, in holing a cane-piece, i. e. in turning up the ground into parallel trenches for the reception of the cane-plants, the slaves of both sexes, from twenty perhaps to fourscore in number, are drawn out in a line, like troops on a parade, each with a hoe in his or her hand; and, close to them, in the rear, is stationed a driver, or drivers, in number duly proportioned to that of the gang. Each of the drivers, who are always the most vigorous and active negroes on the estate, has in his hand, or coiled round his neck, from which, by extending the handle, it can be disengaged in a moment, a long, thick, and strongly-plaited whip, called a cart-whip; the report of which is as loud, and the lash as severe, as those of the whips in common use with our wagoners; and which he has authority to apply at the instant when his eye perceives an occasion, without any previous warning. Thus disposed, their work begins, and continues without interruption for a certain number of hours, during which, at the peril of the drivers, an adequate portion of the land must be holed."

"As the trenches are generally rectilinear, and the whole line of holers advances together, it is necessary that every hole or section of the trench should be finished in equal time with the rest; and if any one or more negroes were allowed to throw the hoe with less rapidity or energy than their companions in other parts of the line, it is obvious that the work of the latter

must be suspended, or else such part of the trench as is passed over by the former will be more imperfectly formed than the rest. It is, therefore, the business of the drivers, not only to urge forward the whole gang with sufficient speed, but sedulously to watch that all in the line, whether male or female, old or young, strong or feeble, work as nearly as possible in equal time, and with equal effect. The tardy stroke must be quickened, and the languid invigorated, and the whole line made to *dress*, in the military phrase, as it advances. No breathing-time, no resting on the hoe, no pause of languor, to be repaid by brisker exertion on return to work, can be allowed to individuals. All must work or pause together."

"I have taken this work," it was added, "as the strongest example; but other labors of the plantation are conducted on the same principle, and as nearly as may be practicable, in the same manner. When the nature of the work does not admit of the slaves being drawn up in line abreast, they are disposed, when the measure is feasible, in some other regular order, for the facility of the driver's superintendence and coercion. In carrying the canes, for instance, from the field to the mill, they are marched in files, each with a bundle on his head, and with the driver in the rear. His voice quickens their pace, and his whip, when necessary, urges on those who attempt to deviate, or loiter on their march." — pp. 193 — 195.

Of the effects of this cruel system of driving, though they are fully pointed out by Mr. Stephen, we have left ourselves no room to speak. He gives it as his opinion, that the only remedy for the mischiefs produced by the driving system, compatible with forced labor, is individual task-work.

The proposition maintained in the eighth chapter is, that 'the maintenance of slaves is in a very oppressive and cruel degree parsimonious.' This proposition is established in an unanswerable manner. The extent to which the oppression is carried is almost incredible, and we must regret that the limits of our work will not permit us to extract the details upon the subject which are presented by Mr. Stephen. To show the insufficiency of food, we shall only offer a single extract from a law of the Leeward Islands regulating the weekly allowance of food to slaves. The allowance, which is represented by the legislative body that enacted it, to be 'humane and liberal,' is as follows.

"Nine pints of corn or beans per week, or eight pints of pease, or wheat or rye flour, or Indian corn meal, or nine pints

of oatmeal, or seven pints of rice, or eight pounds of biscuit." Certain weights of native provisions, not as additions, but further alternatives, were also prescribed; and with them, or with either of these rations, one pound and a quarter of herrings, shads, mackerel, or other salted provisions, per week; and the act allowed a reduction of one-fifth part of these scanty allowances in crop-time; i. e. during five months of the twelve.' — p. 289.

The insufficiency of this allowance, which must indeed be obvious to any one who examines the subject, is very evident on comparing it with allowances in other cases.

'The last Consolidation Act of Jamaica, that of December, 1816, clause 69, furnishes an express standard of sufficiency in the case of slaves confined in the workhouses and gaols of that island. The keepers are required to give to every slave in their custody, "*a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or certain specified commutations in other vegetable articles, with one herring or shad.*"

'What clearer or more authoritative condemnation of the masters in the foreign-fed colonies, and their law-givers too, can be desired? Their allowances of food to hard-working negroes, even if the general practice conformed to the meliorating law, would be less by about one-half, than the quantities here prescribed as the minimum of adequate support to the same people when in gaol. That the council and assembly of Jamaica were highly competent judges on the subject will not be denied; nor will it be supposed that their estimate of sufficiency was purposely excessive. They could not mean to encourage desertion and other offences, and aggravate needlessly the public expense, by a superfluous liberality in the rations. Yet if these are not more than sufficient, the slaves in the Leeward Islands must be half starved; and would be so, even were their allowances increased in the degree that Dr. Collins ventured to recommend. He advised that they should be raised to ten or twelve pints weekly, when the slaves depended wholly upon them; but even this, if the Jamaica estimate be right, would be from seven to nine pints less than enough. Had that writer possessed the power of legislation, he would, I doubt not, have thought the same.

'Let us next look at the practice of slave-masters in the United States of North America. For this, I may consistently quote anti-slavery authority, for it respects not our own colo-

nies, but is a statement of the Manumission Society of New York, which certainly had no wish to magnify the liberality of American slave-masters. "The planters of South Carolina allow to each slave per week a peck of Indian corn, five pounds of bacon, and a pint of molasses; but in the upper country, where provisions are more abundant, the few slaves there fare nearly as well as their masters. They are neither tasked in work; nor limited in their provisions." — pp. 320, 321.

An extract from Dr. Collins, an advocate of slavery, will perhaps place this matter in a clearer light.

'In reasoning anxiously,' says Mr. Stephen, 'to persuade his brother planters of the West Indies at large, to be more liberal in their allowances of food, he urges their own self-interest, in "the greater labor which a well-fed negro is capable of executing, in proportion to one who is half-starved, and in his exemption from disease, and its possible consequence, death; for I avow it boldly," he adds, "*melancholy experience having given me occasion to make the remark, that a great number of negroes have perished annually by diseases produced by inanition.*" To be convinced of this truth, let us trace the effect of that system which assigned for a negro's weekly allowance six or seven pints of flour or grain, with as many salt herrings, and it is in vain to conceal, what we all know to be true, that in many of the islands they did not give more.

"With so scanty a pittance it is indeed possible for the soul and body to be held together for a considerable portion of time, provided a man's only business be to live, and his spirits be husbanded with a frugal hand; but if motion short of labor, much more labor itself, and that too intense, be exacted from him, how is the body to support itself? What is there to thicken and enrich the fluids — what to strengthen the solids, to give energy to the heart, and to invigorate its pulsations? Your negroes may crawl about with feeble, emaciated frames; but they will never possess, under such a regimen, that vigor of mind and tone of muscles which the service of the plantation demands. Their attempts to wield the hoe prove abortive; they shrink from their toil; and, being urged to perseverance by stripes, you are soon obliged to receive them into the hospital; whence, unless your plan be speedily corrected, they depart but to the grave." — p. 258.

The clothing for the slaves in the islands appears to be shamefully insufficient.

'It appears from them [the answers of West India witnesses]

that the proprietors, with the exception of some who are too indigent or penurious to have regular yearly supplies of clothing from this country, distribute to their slaves one suit per annum, or else the materials for making it; in general only the latter; and that it consists of the following articles:—To the men, a short jacket of coarse and flimsy woollen, called *baize* or *bamboo*, and breeches or trowsers of Osnaburg, or other coarse linen; and sometimes, not always, a coarse worsted cap or hat. To the women, a short jacket or wrapper, and a petticoat of the same linen, and a like quantity of the *baize* or *bamboo* for a jacket.'—pp. 343, 344.

In the tenth chapter, it is proved that the slaves are very badly lodged. We have only room for the following extract on this point.

'That men who are thus inadequately fed and clothed, are not less penuriously dealt with in other respects, may be easily believed. That they are better *lodged*, however, might, perhaps, be surmised; because, it is admitted, on all hands, that their huts are, for the most part, built by themselves; and I could cite many inviting accounts, given by their masters, both of their houses and furniture, in which, with the usual craft of my opponents, they ascribe to the poor field-negroes in general, what is partially true, only, of the drivers and other head men.

'But here, again, Dr. Collins is an instructive guide; "Our dwellings," he says, "are inaccessible both to rain and wind. But the huts of negroes, which imperfectly possess the former advantage, are totally destitute of the latter; every agitation of the air being felt in them, and that with an effect proportioned to the state of the body when exposed to its current." This, too, he considers as a frequent cause of sickness; and exhorts their masters to assist them in building better habitations. As to furniture, he says, "It is proper to give them something to sleep upon, that they may be kept from the ground. At present, a board is sometimes given to them for that purpose, and sometimes not. Instead of it, I would recommend a bedstead, composed of boards six feet four inches long, and three or four wide, planed on one side, and supported at the distance of eighteen inches from the ground," &c.

'Here, as usual, he feared to alarm the rigid economy of the masters; and therefore added, "Of these bedsteads, an indifferent plantation carpenter will make three in a day, and the cost of each, in boards, nails, and labor, will not be more than ten or twelve shillings." "The negroes," he further observes, "are accustomed to hard lodgings; yet, to render them more comfort-

able, and to prevent the flesh being annoyed in the conflict between the bones and the boards, they may be covered with banana mats, preferably to pads made with the leaves."

'Such is the lodging, which, like the food and labor, so many respectable witnesses pronounced to be proper, liberal, and superior to that of the peasantry, or the lower class of people of every description, in this country. A hut that is weather-proof, and a board, with a coarse mat, to receive the negro's weary limbs by night, are recommended as important improvements; though here, to say of a poor man, that "*he has not a bed to lie upon*," is thought a very moving image of distress.

'In this particular, the errors of strangers, or transient guests, in their accounts of the West Indies, may be easily produced by what I have reason to believe is a very ordinary imposition. If, on visiting a planter, they show any curiosity to see the huts of the slaves, commonly called the negro-houses, they are conducted by their entertainer to two or three in the group, which are the habitations of the drivers, carpenters, masons, or other tradesmen, the chiefs of the gang, whose many comparative advantages I have frequently noticed; and in these, though on a cursory outside view not very distinguishable from the other negro huts, the strangers may find appearances of humble comfort, both as to the dwelling and its furniture; which they are naturally led to regard as fair examples of the general case; though the hut of the common drudges, which it would be rudely prying to enter, would excite only compassion and disgust.' — pp. 359, 360.

In the eleventh chapter, it is proved that the slaves 'are treated with great harshness, neglect, and inhumanity, when sick.' We shall not enter into the details of this melancholy subject, but must content ourselves with remarking, that the proposition advanced by the author is established beyond question.

The last chapter of the work consists of 'concluding and practical reflections,' from which we extract the following eloquent passage.

'Am I asked what are my practical conclusions, from the shocking and opprobrious facts established in this and my former volume? What can they be, but one, — that the effectual interposition of Parliament should not a moment longer be delayed?

'Enough was known before; more than enough was incontrovertibly proved; nay, enough was always admitted or undenied; to make the legislative toleration of this slavery a disgrace to the British and Christian name. Iniquity, indeed, of every

kind, loses in human detestation, what it gains in mischief, by wide, unreprieved diffusion, and by age. We sin remorselessly, because our fathers sinned, and because multitudes of our own generation sin, in the same way without discredit. But if ever those most flagitious crimes of Europe, slave-trade and colonial slavery, shall cease to be tolerated by human laws, and live in history alone, men will look back upon them with the horror they deserve; and wonder as much at the depravity of the age that could establish or maintain them, as we now do at the murderous rites of our pagan ancestors, or the ferocious cannibal manners of New Zealand.

‘There is enough in the simplest conception of personal hereditary slavery, to revolt every just and liberal mind, independently of all aggravations to be found in its particular origin, or in abuses of the master’s powers. But how much should sympathy and indignation be enhanced, when the cruel perpetual privation of freedom, and of almost every civil and human right, is the punishment of no crime, nor the harsh consequence of public hostility in war, but imposed upon the innocent and helpless, by the hand of rapacious violence alone; and maintained for no other object but the sordid one of the master’s profit, by the excessive labor to which they are compelled?’

‘Were our merchants to send agents to buy captives from the bandits in the forests of Italy, or from the pirates on the Barbary coast, and sell them here as slaves, to work for our farmers or manufacturers; and were the purchasers to claim, in consequence, a right to hold these victims of rapine and avarice, with their children, in bondage for ever, and to take their work, without wages; what would it be but the same identical case we are contemplating, except that the captives were of a different complexion? Yet the bandits and pirates are hanged; and their vendees, in the case supposed, would have less to apprehend from actions or indictments for false imprisonment, than from the vengeance of indignant multitudes. It certainly, at least, would not be necessary, for the purpose of their deliverance, to prove to the British Parliament, or people, that the poor captives were overworked, under-fed, driven with whips to their work, punished in a brutal way for every real or imputed fault, and, by such complicated oppressions, brought in great numbers prematurely to their graves.

‘But an advocate of the unfortunate negroes, in the present day, has to address himself to many who have so far surrendered their judgment to colonial imposture, and their moral feelings to colonial influence and example, as almost to doubt whether personal slavery is an evil, or its unjust imposition a crime. It

was not, therefore, without necessity, that I have torn from that social monster the screen which distance and falsehood had cast before him; and exhibited him to the eyes of the British people in his true and hideous forms.

'Having now performed that painful and invidious task; having shown, by decisive evidence, what the slavery of the sugar colonies really is, both in law and practice; I will not waste the time of my readers, by offering any arguments in proof, that such a state should no longer be suffered to exist. It would, indeed, be worse than idle; it would be insulting their understandings and their hearts to do so. It would be supposing in them a perfect insensibility to every moral obligation. That personal slavery should find apologists and patrons among the people of England, is strange, and opprobrious enough; especially at the present day, when we hail with enthusiasm the march of civil liberty in every foreign land, and are scarcely satisfied with its perfection in our own; but, if our love of freedom be thus grossly inconsistent, I trust our national humanity will be more impartial; and that, though many among us, who profess to detest slavery, civil or personal, in Greece and Spain, and Portugal and Algiers, have defended its far heavier yoke in the sugar colonies, — all who are not principals, or accomplices, in the cruel and murderous oppressions which I have here delineated, will view them with abhorrence. I will anticipate, then, no dissent, by any disinterested reader, from my conclusion, that this most odious system ought to exist no more.' pp. 387 — 389.

Having said so much of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies, we are naturally led to inquire what is the situation of the same class of our own population. Into this inquiry, however, we shall not enter at this time, not because we do not consider it a proper subject of discussion in the Northern States, but because we have already gone beyond our usual limits, and because our information on the subject is not so full and satisfactory as we could desire.

It is but justice, however, to say, that we have good reason to believe, that the usual treatment of slaves, in this country, is, in some particulars, more mild and humane than in the British West Indies. This seems to be established by the single fact, that the natural increase of the slaves in this country is nearly, if not quite, as rapid as that of the whites,* while in the British sugar islands, they are constantly diminishing.

* This, of course, must be understood of the whole United States. In the slave-holding States, the slaves, on the whole, have increased more

We are inclined to believe, that slaves are not so much over-worked in this country as they are in the West Indies. The driving system, which is universal in all the sugar colonies, is not so general in this country, but a system of task-work is established in its place.

The causes, which have produced a better treatment of slaves in this country, are sufficiently obvious. We can only allude to them. The most important, probably is, that the disproportion of numbers between the slaves and the whites, is in no part of our country so great, as it is between the same classes in the West Indies. Taking all the British slave colonies together, there are nearly eight times as many slaves as whites, and a free black and colored population considerably exceeding the whites. In some of the islands, there are ten times as many slaves as whites; and in others, the slaves exceed the whites even in a greater proportion. In this country, on the other hand, the slaves are more numerous than the whites only in two States, South Carolina and Louisiana, and in those, only in a very small proportion; while all the slave-holding States together contain nearly twice as many free persons as slaves.

Another reason, why slavery is not quite so severe in this country as in the British colonies, is, that here food is probably cheaper, and more abundant, than it is in the West Indies.

Besides this, the cultivation of sugar, in which it is admitted that the labors of the slave are more severe and exhausting than in any other, has been but little pursued in this country, compared with the West Indies.

One of the chief causes of the extreme ill-treatment of slaves in the West Indies, is the general non-residence of the owners

rapidly than the whites. We cannot, however, say, with certainty, that the natural increase of the slaves, in that section, is greater than that of the whites, on account of the emigration of the whites into the non-slave-holding States, and other causes.

Whether the natural increase of the slaves be not quite as rapid as that of the free population of our country, it is difficult to determine. A mere comparison of the censuses will not lead to any satisfactory conclusion, for various elements must be brought into any calculation on the subject, whose value it is not easy to ascertain. These are, the increase of the free population of the United States, by voluntary immigration; the increase of the slave population, before 1808, by new importations; the diminution of the slave population, by enfranchisement; and the diminution of the free people of color, by emigration.

of estates. The great majority of these proprietors reside in Great Britain, and large numbers of them never visit the islands from which they draw their revenues. The consequences to the poor slaves, who are thus left in the hands of men, whose interest in their good treatment and comfort is not very direct and obvious, whose morals are low, and education imperfect, are, as might be expected, very melancholy. In this country, on the contrary, we believe that the entire non-residence of planters on their estates, is very rare. That the slaves must usually be benefited by the personal supervision of their owners, can scarcely be questioned.

Another circumstance, which, no doubt, has a favorable influence on the condition of the slaves in this country, is the contiguity of the slave-holding States to those in which slavery is prohibited. The opinions upon the law and practice of slavery, which are generally entertained, and in some degree expressed in the Northern States, we believe, tend to diminish the evils of the system. Though the expression of these opinions sometimes excites violent bursts of indignation at the South, yet they are not the less certainly producing changes in sentiment among slave-holders. It can hardly be questioned, that slavery, as it exists, in law and practice, in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, which join upon the non-slave-holding States, and are therefore more readily influenced by their habits and opinions, is milder than it is in the more southerly States.

Having thus conceded, as justice demanded, that slavery in this country is less severe than it is in the British colonies, we trust that our concession will not be thought to extend to any approbation of the system, as it exists here, or of any system of slavery whatever.

It is not our intention, at present, to consider the modes in which the great work of enfranchisement, which is sooner or later to take place in the Southern States, ought to be attempted by their legislative assemblies. But nothing, we believe, would do more to promote this good cause, than a work similar in plan to Mr. Stephen's Second Volume, giving a plain account of the practice of slavery in regard to the time and mode of labor in the cultivation of the principal staples, as of cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar; the manner in which labor is enforced; the situation of the slaves in regard to food, clothing, lodging, and treatment in sickness, and the varieties of practice in all these particulars, in different parts of the country. We are

aware, that the work which we suggest is one of great labor, and scarcely to be accomplished, except by one who has been long resident in the Southern section. Perhaps the whole of it can scarcely be expected from a single hand. But there are men in the country who are able to contribute largely towards it. A person who will give a detailed account of slavery in any one State, cannot fail to produce a work of novelty and interest, and, at the same time, of great utility. The accounts of the institution in the books of travels which we have seen, are most meagre and unsatisfactory. The general remarks, which we often meet with from the apologists of slavery, upon the health, good spirits, and comfort of the slaves, and the lightness of their labors, in all which particulars they are sometimes said to be far better situated than the peasantry of New England, even if they do not excite a smile or a sigh of incredulity, give no definite information concerning the Arcadian felicity which they attest. On the other hand, the instances of oppression and cruelty, which are stated by writers opposed to slavery, though, no doubt, affording a strong argument against a system which necessarily leads to frequent and atrocious abuses, give us no means of judging of the usual situation of the negroes, under masters who are not distinguished for severity.

Many of our readers are probably not aware, that a volume, giving an account of the law of slavery in the Southern States, by Mr. George M. Strond, was published in 1826. The information given in this work, we think, will be found highly interesting and instructive, by all who wish to make themselves acquainted with the actual situation of the negro population at the South. A thorough account of the practice of slavery would make the subject complete. We conclude, by repeating our wish, that a work of this kind may be soon given to the public.

ERRATA. — Page 25, line 12, after good, insert a comma
 " 38, " 39, for generation, read regeneration
 " 46, " 40, " our, " an
 " 56, " 41, " Col., " Cat.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N^o. XLVII.

NEW SERIES — N^o. XVII.

NOVEMBER, 1831.

- ART I. — 1. *A View of the general Tenor of the New Testament regarding the Nature and Dignity of Jesus Christ ; including a Collection of the various Passages in the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, which relate to that Subject.* By JOANNA BAILLIE. London, 1831. 8vo. pp. 146.
2. *Religious Prejudice overcome, by a careful Examination of the Old and New Testament ; a serious Address to Christian Professors.* By MRS. CHARLES TOOGOOD. Dorchester and London. 8vo. pp. 59.
3. *The Essential Faith of the Universal Church ; deduced from the Sacred Records.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. London. 1831. 8vo. pp. 88.

WE regard with much interest the simultaneous appearance of these three books. They are small in size, but they lead the mind to important conclusions.

Two of these works, one of which is by a lady of high rank in the literary world, are examinations of Scripture testimony on the nature and dignity of Christ. Both result in Unitarianism ; in a conviction that the long revered doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is not to be found in the Sacred Writings. They are not indeed the only instances of such an investigation terminating in the same result ; but they are new and valuable testimonials to the truth of the assertion invariably made by Unitarians, that their faith is not only the most rational but the most scriptural too. They are in-

stances of the examination of Scripture evidence, conducted not by Unitarians, nor by persons inclined to be Unitarians, but by those whose prepossessions were in favor of the orthodox doctrines, so called, in which they had been brought up, which they had been accustomed to hear from the pulpit, and which were generally entertained by society about them; but who were nevertheless compelled, by the silence of the Bible on the subject of a Trinity, to renounce it altogether, and to rest in the belief that there is but one Supreme Being in one Person. No worldly motive could probably have exercised an influence over their inquiries. Neither fame nor emolument is any where attached to the profession of Unitarianism; and in Edinburgh and Dorchester, as well as most other places in the world, it is far from being a popular or *fashionable* form of religion. With exceedingly few exceptions, it is, on the contrary, every where spoken against, and looked down upon. Now we say, that if in the instances before us, as in others, a close and candid investigation of the language of Scripture has led to the belief of a doctrine which is unpatronized and vilified, and to the consequent rejection of a doctrine which is established and in repute, then we, who hold the former of these doctrines, the unpatronized and vilified one, have a right to complain of those who charge us with disrespect and disregard of Scripture, and to claim from them more courtesy and more charity. We have a right, moreover, to speak with some confidence when we appeal to Scripture ourselves, and when we request others to search the Scripture.

Again, it is to be considered that the writers of all three of these works are ladies. We regard this fact as a sufficient refutation of a charge, commonly enough advanced against our opinions, that they are unfriendly in their character to the tenderness, susceptibility, and affectionate gentleness, which are peculiarly the moral beauties of the female sex. We have always denied the truth of this charge. Unitarians have always maintained that their views are as favorable to the exercise of the warmest and best affections, as are any other views of Christianity whatever. Instances in proof of this have never been wanting. We are now able to add three remarkable ones to their number. Miss Baillie's 'Plays on the Passions' have been long and well known as among the best in the language. No one who reads them can entertain

any doubt of the character of the writer's affections. Such works could never have been dictated by a cold heart. Miss Martineau, but lately known to us as a writer, and with a fame much more limited than that of Miss Baillie, has, by her 'Traditions of Palestine, or Times of the Saviour,' taken a strong hold on the feelings of all who are acquainted with that beautiful volume. She has shown that she is one of those to whom God has confided the golden key which unlocks the fountain of tears. The depth, purity, and holiness of the affections of such a writer cannot be questioned. Of Mrs. Toogood we only know, that at the age of eighty-one, she has published a religious pamphlet, replete with pious sentiments, and the fruits of much biblical reading. This fact is a sufficient indication of affections, which, like those of the late Mrs. Barbauld, age has no power to chill. We cannot acknowledge, therefore, for an instant, that Unitarianism is in itself unfavorable to the warmest and best emotions of the female heart, when we see it received and cherished in hearts like these.

Such were our reflections, when the works which form the subject of this article were placed in our hands. We have stated them briefly and simply; but we think they deserve the serious attention of those who are apt to suspect our faith of a want of Scriptural foundation, or lay to its charge a benumbing influence on the pious and gentle affections of the soul. We will now proceed to give a short notice of each of these works in turn.

Mrs. Baillie's volume consists chiefly of a collection of passages from the New Testament, the book of the Revelation excepted, which bear in any way on the subject of the nature of Christ. Twelve pages are occupied with some preliminary observations; then come the quotations from Scripture, which extend to page 122; and twenty-four pages of remarks and notes conclude the book. The quotations are from the common version, without alteration or comment. Every thing relating to the subject is brought forward, as we should think, with entire and undeviating impartiality. No criticism is attempted, or even alluded to. Even the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, 1 John v. 7, is printed in its usurped place, without a single word said of the almost utter want of evidence for its genuineness and authority. Now, we have no idea that any thing like a thorough knowledge of

Scripture can be acquired without some knowledge of Scripture criticism; and yet there are so many who are alarmed, the instant that the words, criticism, manuscript, or original language, are uttered, that Miss Baillie's method is, for common inquirers, undoubtedly the best. It is best calculated to disarm prejudice, to quiet fear, and to produce a candid examination. Either way will satisfy us; whether it be learned or unlearned, with a critical apparatus or without one. Only let the Scriptures, in any translation, be examined candidly and patiently, while preconceived opinions are for the occasion laid aside, and kept as much as possible out of sight, and we are willing to trust to the issue. We protest, however, against such a book as Scott's Bible, unless some other commentary, supporting opposite views, be studied with it. Prejudice will only be strengthened by the perusal of a work so sectarian in its character, and so dogmatical in its judgments. Let us have fair criticism, a comparison of criticisms, or no criticism at all. Miss Baillie proceeds on the principle, that it is unnecessary to resort to criticism at all, in order to arrive at the general meaning of Scripture concerning the nature of Christ. Be it so. But let not the unlearned inquirer rely altogether even on her collection of testimony, impartial as it is. Let him rather do as she did. Let him read the Scriptures himself, with serious attention; and let him make his own collection, as impartially as she has made hers. He will thus become acquainted, as he goes along, with the connexion of each passage, and obtain a clearer view of the meaning of the whole than if he had contented himself with insulated quotations alone, however fairly brought together. We cannot believe that the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity will stand the test of such a process.

The concluding remarks of Miss Baillie are remarkable for their plain good sense, and for their truly Christian temper. The following apology for her use of the term *sects*, is just what it ought to be, and shows her superiority to the narrowness of those who are apt to talk of the church to which they belong as the only true church of Christ, and of an 'established church,' as established by God and not by man.

'No offence, I hope, will be taken at the use I here make of the term *sects*, which is commonly applied to a smaller number of Christians as distinguished from a greater, whose tenets are supported by the law of the land. I use it here in a wider

sense, as divisions of that church which consists of every believer who receives the New Testament as the word of God, — the Greek, the Roman, the Lutheran, the English, the Presbyterian, with the various subdivisions, occasioned by dissenters from each. All established churches are such only regarding the country by whose laws they are upheld; regarding Christianity at large they are not so, and may then with propriety be designated sects.' — p. 123.

Miss Baillie, as might be expected, is perfectly open in stating the doctrine which she herself has derived from the study of the English Bible. It is that which is usually denominated the Arian, which supposes Christ 'to be a most highly exalted being, who was with God before the creation of the world, and by whose agency it probably was created, by power derived from Almighty God.' With regard to the form of belief which she denominates the Socinian, she says, 'It seems at variance with so many plain passages of Scripture, that it cannot, I should think, by those who view the subject in the simple way here recommended, be considered as standing upon any solid foundation.'

Here we differ considerably from Miss Baillie. In the simplest way possible of reading the Scriptures, there are so many places in which our Saviour is expressly called a man, and so few in which he seems to be called any thing else, that it appears to us rather a hasty saying, to assert that the doctrine of his humanity is destitute of 'any solid foundation.' And the knowledge of a little criticism, admitted on all hands to be correct and fair, would inform that lady, or any one else, that the creation of the world which is ascribed to Christ in the Scriptures, is not so decidedly the creation of the material and natural world, as she has assumed it to be. Neither do we agree with her in thinking that the Arian and Humanitarian forms of belief are 'far, far apart.' We really cannot see, and never have been able to see, the very important difference between believing Jesus Christ to be an angel, even the greatest of angels, and believing him to have been of that race which God made a little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and honor. The great difference lies between the strict Trinitarian and any form of Unitarian belief. If Christ is God, he is infinitely above any created being. If he is a created being, of whatever rank, he is, in nature, at an infinite distance from the One Supreme. We

mean not to enter on this question. We care not to shake the faith of Arians in their peculiar doctrines. But we think it time that both Arians and Humanitarians should agree that the real difference between them is slight; and that Arians should cease to look upon Humanitarianism as a low and cold belief, and Humanitarians should cease to speak of Arianism as mystical and absurd, and akin to the doctrine of the Trinity. For the simple truth is, that in all essential particulars, one form of Unitarianism is as distant from Trinitarianism as another. We look on both forms of the great doctrine which maintains the strict divine unity, with respect. We believe that both are consistent with the deepest reverence of God, and with the most affectionate and grateful regards toward his son Jesus Christ.

We do not intend, however, to impute to Miss Baillie any harshness or unfairness toward the believers in any system of religious faith. The charity which breathes throughout her volume is worthy of praise and imitation. It is to advance the interests of the same charity, that we have said what we have said.

One more extract from her concluding remarks will furnish a good specimen of the temper and reasoning of her work.

‘Lastly, let us consider the doctrine of faith which has set Christians at variance more than any other, particularly in the present day. That faith alone effects our salvation without works, but must still have its sincerity proved by works, or that faith producing good works, or in conjunction with good works procures the same blessed result, is a subtle distinction, works being necessary and faith also necessary to him who embraces either opinion. And would the preachers of faith not put works out of sight by forbearing to mention them at all, or mentioning them slightly, and were the preachers of works more zealous in inculcating that gratitude and piety by which the highest and purest morality is produced and cherished, it would be of little consequence on which side of the question any one might range himself.

‘There seems to be a kind of humility in supposing that we can do nothing for ourselves, and this has often won converts to the first mentioned notion of faith. But what is pride and what is humility in relation to man with his Maker? Every thing we possess we derive from him; and he who bows down his reason and calls himself a worm of the earth, has not a stronger sense of the infinite perfection of Almighty God, or of

the immeasurable distance between the Creator and the created, than he who gratefully prizes his own powers of mind, which enable him in some degree to perceive the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Deity in his varied works, — prizes them the more as being the generous gift of the beneficent Lord of all. Humility and pride are terms which properly relate to man as connected with fellow men. It is that disposition which makes a man willing to allow the merits of others, and to think himself inferior to them, and ready to condescend to those who are his inferiors, that is properly humility; it is that disposition which assumes superiority over others, and disregards the wrong and distress occasioned by it, which is properly called pride. Do we honor God by depreciating the noblest of his works with which we have any means of being acquainted, — a rational soul? Such an idea monks and fanatics may entertain, but does it become those who have had the sacred Scripture spread freely before them? Who have therein contemplated the most exalted, beautiful, and generous of all characters — our blessed Saviour? Who have considered the main tenor of his pure and excellent precepts, the promises and hopes vouchsafed for our encouragement, and his perfect, animating, and noble example? — pp. 138 – 140.

Mrs. Toogood's work is of a much more critical and controversial character than Miss Baillie's, and yet it is not at all deficient, so far as we can perceive, in kindness and charity. The liveliness and discrimination which mark her pages, would, under any circumstances, be observable; but, after reading the first page of her Introduction, they appear wonderful.

'The following observations were written at several intervals of comparative ease, afforded me during a time of otherwise intense pain and suffering, the effects of a long and dangerous illness; in the course of which, I was brought, to all appearance, very near the close of my mortal career. The sentiments which I now entertain, and which I wish to publish for the benefit of others, were then the grand prop of my fainting spirits; and I can recur to them with joyful hope, that they will again be my support when flesh and heart are failing, and the will of my Heavenly Father shall be done in removing me hence. I feel it to be an imperious duty, which I owe to that Almighty Friend, who so wonderfully sustained me under the excruciating pains I endured, and who has given me the power of extolling and blessing his name, thus to show my gratitude, for this as

well as innumerable other instances of his paternal care of me, during a long pilgrimage of *eighty-one years* 'on earth.'—p. iii.

The plan of this lady in her work, is to take up the most striking passages which refer, or are supposed to refer, to Christ, both in the Old and New Testaments, and make her comments upon them in their order. This plan is entirely different from that pursued by Miss Baillie, and both have their peculiar advantages. As a specimen of Mrs. Toogood's controversial ability, we take the following passage at random.

'Much has been made by those who take their doctrine from the common translation, of that passage in the Philippians, where it is said that Christ thought it no robbery *to be equal with God*. But it must appear to every dispassionate mind that the object of the passage is to teach *self-denial* from the *example* of our blessed Master: to make himself *equal* with God could therefore be no instance of self-denial; and moreover it would be a contradiction of our Lord's own sayings when the Jews were about to stone him, under the false pretence that he had assumed this high honor. Archbishop Newcome has rendered it, "did not esteem it a prey to be 'like God.'" The meaning of which is, that he did not make an *ostentatious display* of those supernatural and miraculous powers which made him appear like a God, though these might have represented him to the wondering multitude, who beheld his astonishing miracles, *in the form* (or likeness) of a God. The word *equal* is one, of which it seems the original does not admit, and therefore the translators were not justified in using it. In the benevolent exercise of his miraculous powers afforded him by God, our Saviour acted as the representative of the Being who is the fountain of all goodness. Though thus high in favor and enjoying such authority under "the King eternal, immortal, and invisible," yet he humbled himself to the condition of a servant, became obedient to death, even the death of the cross: and as a reward for this voluntary humiliation he was exalted, (not by his own power and authority,) but "God highly exalted him and gave him a name above every name, that *in* the name of Jesus every knee should bow," "and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." It will, I think, be discovered by every one who attentively reads this passage even in the common translation, that it could never be intended to inculcate any other doctrine than that Christ *derived* all his powers from his Father; but it is surely worth the trouble for any person who considers the value of religion, to hear what other translators have said upon the subject.'—pp. 29, 30.

The same acquaintance with Scripture language and criticism which is shown in the above extract, is manifested throughout this vigorous pamphlet; the writer being upwards of fourscore years of age! A touching simplicity distinguishes her farewell to her readers.

‘I have now to take leave of my readers with the earnest hope, that under the divine blessing, what I have written may be useful in leading them to that course which has yielded me so much comfort and hope. Since the period of my conversion from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism, I have followed the example of the Bereans, in “searching the Scriptures daily,” to see whether the opinions I have adopted, are according to the truth: and I can assure them that my convictions have been more and more confirmed therein, every time I have consulted the word of God. Under this impression I could not resist the strong impulse I felt, to impart the benefit I have enjoyed to others. The Bible is alike open to all; it is calculated to afford a similar blessing to all. Unconscious of any sectarian spirit, I hope such will not be attributed to me. Truth is my only object, believing that, “if we know the truth, it will make us free.” Nevertheless I have no doubt that opinions so much misrepresented as those I have adopted, often are, will bring down severe reprehension from those whose *prejudices* are mis-called *opinions*; and whether I shall live to see or feel their contempt or not, I hereby assure them that I have “so learned Christ,” as freely to forgive them. I would wish also to excuse them by recurring to my own feelings, before I shook off the dominion of prejudice, though, blessed be God, I was incapable of malice or rancor. My prayer is, that the reading hereof may be succeeded with a divine blessing to them and to all others; and that all may be brought to think, that the Scriptures alone contain the words of eternal life, and whatever else is taught as doctrine, is the word of *man*, and not of *God*.’ — pp. 56, 57.

The work of Miss Martineau, though particularly addressed to Roman Catholics, may be read with profit and pleasure by the members of any other communion. In beauty of writing it much surpasses the other two works. Once or twice we thought the style a little too artificial and ambitious, but, with these exceptions, it is, while eloquent and ornate, in excellent taste. The poetical feeling and imagination, and the gentle tone and spirit which pervade this book, together with

the Scriptural and historical knowledge which it evinces, make the reading of it a continual entertainment of the purest kind.

Miss Martineau is as open in the expression of her belief in the Humanitarian doctrine as Miss Baillie is of hers in the Arian. In this connexion the following paragraph must speak for itself.

‘It cannot be necessary for Christians, when addressing Christians, to enter upon the evidence for the divine authority under which the Saviour offered his Gospel, or for the consequent divine origin of that Gospel. The name adopted by both parties is a sufficient testimony to the unity of their faith thus far. Concerning the nature of Christ, we have already declared that, in accordance with what we believe to have been the faith of the primitive ages, we regard the Saviour as human in his nature; but superhuman in his powers, and divinely appointed and sanctioned in his office. The title “Son of God” is peculiarly and indefeasibly his own; for to no other being, as far as our knowledge extends, has so immeasurable a portion of authority, of power, of grace and truth, been vouchsafed; in no other has dwelt “all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.” The homage of reverence cannot be too fully and freely rendered to him who was with God in His manifest presence; who was one with Him in his purposes of eternal salvation to the human race; who was the exponent of those purposes, and the means of that salvation. The homage of love cannot be too fully and freely rendered to him who suffered for our transgressions, and died for our justification; who loved us with more than an earthly love; who suffered in his compassion for the sins and sorrows of men, as well as in the inflictions he sustained for their sakes; and who, though wounded in spirit and tortured in body, made use of the rule, authority, and power with which he was invested, not for his own relief, but for our deliverance. To him who brought us salvation, it is little to offer deep gratitude and unbounded love. The homage of obedience cannot be too fully and freely rendered to him who was wise with the wisdom of God, pure in heart, sinless in his life, and sanctified by grace from the beginning. Even if we did not know that obedience to Christ is the way to life eternal, that obedience would be due to his divine claims: but knowing this, it should be steadfast as our faith, cheerful as our hope, and boundless as our love. Such was the obedience, such were the reverence and love of the holy Apostles; and we desire to participate in them as fully as we join, with heart and mind, in all that they have said concerning him. They bow

before his celestial authority, — so do we. They venerate his perfect holiness, — so do we. They bless his love, testified in his sufferings, sealed by his death, and glorified by his resurrection, — so do we. They strove to be obedient in all things, — and we acknowledge the obligation incumbent on us to be so likewise; and that we may be so, we diligently inquire what were the doctrines which he confirmed and revealed.' — pp. 7, 8.

The following portion of the conclusion of this volume, on the intrinsic universality and power of the Christian religion, cannot fail to be received by our readers with pleasure, and will no doubt excite in them a desire, which we ourselves entertain, that the work may be speedily republished here.

'The universal spread of Glad Tidings is a fit subject for universal rejoicing. The moral beauty of the Saviour's character is recognisable by all; the spirit of his teachings is congenial to all; and the very illustrations in which they are set forth are of an universal nature. Storms every where beat on human dwellings, and in all regions flowers spring, and the lights of heaven shine and are obscured. The filial and fraternal relations subsist every where; widowed mothers mourn over the bier of a son, and rejoicings are witnessed at marriage feasts. The parables of the Gospel are the most appropriate elementary teachings for all minds from pole to pole; and the principles which Christ proposed command the assent of every intellect, from that of the child whom he set in the midst of his followers, to that which, exalted by all holy influences, is surrounded on its release from the grave by a throng of perfected spirits. It is for man to beware how he limits what God has thus made universal; how he monopolizes what God designs to be diffused; how he encumbers by human inventions that truth which divine wisdom has made free to all.

'By the Gospel, a new relation is established between Him who gives and him who receives it; and it is for man to beware how he attempts to modify this relation, or to intrude on the special communion which it establishes. It is not in the power of man to take away any thing from the Gospel, though he may narrow the capacity of its recipients; but he must beware how he adds to it the teachings of his own low and vain imaginations. He can do nothing to impair divine truth, for it is made invulnerable by God: but he may impair and destroy its efficacy for himself and his brethren, by mistaking its nature and perverting its influences; by transferring to others the task which he may not delegate, of admitting its evidences and interpreting its commands. It is not in the power of man

to silence the voice of God speaking on earth through Christ; but he must beware of listening to any other exponent of the divine will, whether or not he refer his claim to St. Peter; whether or not he appeal to human wisdom, throned in the papal chair or attested by the unanimity of Councils; whether or not he entitle himself the Vicar of Christ on earth.

'It is not in the power of man to restrict the influences of the Gospel. What they have been, they will be; what they have done, they will continue to effect. They will bless the spirit in its wanderings and in its retirements, making the universe the record of its history, and its inmost recesses the dwelling-place of Deity. They will restrain the excesses, chasten the emotions, and ennoble the sympathies of humanity. They will bless life and hallow the grave. They will develop themselves perpetually as ages roll on, till it shall be their lowest office to still the sighings and subdue the conflicts of the spirit; while their highest shall still be, so to direct its pursuit of ultimate objects, so to invigorate its natural and moral powers, as to evidence to itself its ever-growing resemblance to its Maker. It is for man to beware lest he exclude himself from these influences or impair their operation by mistaking superstition for religion, and by supinely relinquishing the intellectual and spiritual liberty with which Christ has made him free.' pp. 87, 88.

One more word before we leave these volumes. We cannot resist the impression that they are auspicious signs of the advancement of a free, liberal, serious, rational, or, in short, pure Christianity among men. We feel sure, also, that they will contribute to that advancement which they so cheerfully betoken.

ART. II.—*Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829.* By REV. R. WALSH, LL. D., M. R. I. A., Author of 'A Journey from Constantinople,' &c. &c. &c. Boston, 1831. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 290 and 299.

To one who is acquainted with the history of South America, the very name of Brazil possesses a romantic charm. It carries him back to those early days when that vast region was inhabited only by hordes of wandering savages. It reminds him of the deep feelings of astonishment with which

its shores were first surveyed by European eyes ; of the spirit of adventure, the courage, the endurance, and the perseverance which animated the early adventurers who explored it ; of their dreams of gold and their tales of wonder, of giants and pigmies, Amazons and anthropophagi. It calls up to his recollection the worse than savage cruelties which were perpetrated upon its native inhabitants ; the slavery, more cruel than death, to which they were subjected ; and the untiring exertions of the Jesuits to protect these persecuted tribes, and to bestow on them the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

Nor is it merely on account of the past that Brazil is interesting. The country in its present situation possesses stronger and more direct claims on our attention. No one can cast even a hasty glance on the map of this continent without being struck with the vast extent of the Brazilian territory, embracing, as it does, two fifths of South America, and larger, it is said, than the whole of Europe. In richness and variety of natural productions it is perhaps exceeded by no country in the world. It is, in truth, what its historian* has called it, "the finest region of the whole habitable globe." Its plains, its rivers, its mountains, and its forests are prodigal in animal and vegetable life. Diamonds and gold, and the no less valuable mineral iron, are found beneath its soil in boundless profusion ; and yet the nature and extent of its mineral resources are very imperfectly known. Its vast length of sea-coast, with its convenient harbours, give it great advantages for foreign commerce ; while its numerous rivers apparently offer every facility for intercourse between the coast and the interior. The climate is in most parts healthy and agreeable. It is sufficiently obvious, that this country with which our commercial intercourse is rapidly increasing, and which already produces some of the staples of our states in great abundance, may hereafter become a valuable friend in some branches of trade, and a formidable rival in others. If the inhabitants of Brazil should ever become a moral, cultivated, and enterprising people, subject to a good government and good laws, they would soon be one of the most flourishing and powerful nations which the world has ever known.

Dr. Walsh, we think, has performed a valuable service in

* Southey.

the information which he has given concerning Brazil. He is already known to the reading public by his "Journey from Constantinople," in which he gives an account of some countries which have not often been traversed by intelligent travellers. That work has been extremely popular, both in Great Britain* and this country; and we think the present is likely to become so. Dr. Walsh seems to enjoy all those dispositions and powers of mind and body which fit a man for a traveller. He appears to be always in good health and spirits, and to possess strength to endure every fatigue which his curiosity prompts him to undergo. His mind is active and inquisitive; while his cheerfulness and sociability enable him to obtain freely that information which would be withheld from a traveller of a different temperament. He is a close observer of the manners and habits of the people among whom he travels, yet always judges them with candor and kindness. He has a keen relish for the beauties of nature and art, and describes them with judgment and spirit. In every thing which he presents to the reader, whether it be descriptions of natural scenery, accounts of his personal adventures, or sketches of the modes of life of the inhabitants of the country, he possesses the rare talent of giving an exact representation of the impression made upon his own mind by the objects which attract his attention. This talent spreads a constant glow of life and spirit over his pages. Besides, his kind and benevolent feelings, which show themselves in every part of the work, in the most unaffected manner, render his volumes highly attractive. His speculations do not exhibit him merely as a cold political economist, but as an ardent and sincere Christian, who feels a strong interest in the welfare of his fellow creatures. The work throughout maintains a moral tone of sentiment, which is the more gratifying when contrasted with the disregard of all moral distinctions which pervades too many books of travels.

Dr. Walsh gives us sufficient of his personal adventures to preserve his reader's interest in him, and maintain the unity of the work, which a book of travels is too apt to lose when it becomes a mere series of unconnected disquisitions on different subjects. He is careful, however, on the other hand, not to disgust us by dwelling on petty circumstances which

* A fourth edition of this work has lately been published in London.

are of no consequence to any one but the writer. The details which he sometimes gives are not introduced because they relate to himself, but because they tend to illustrate the state of the country through which he is travelling, and the manners of its inhabitants.

In the year 1828, Viscount Strangford went to Brazil as Ambassador Extraordinary from Great Britain. Dr. Walsh accompanied him as chaplain. It was on this occasion that the work before us was prepared. Besides the notices of Brazil, the volumes contain an account of the voyage to Rio Janeiro, some particulars respecting Madeira, at which island our author and his fellow voyagers landed on their passage, and an account of the voyage on their return to England. Dr. Walsh, from his situation in the British embassy, enjoyed peculiar advantages for obtaining information concerning Brazil. These advantages he has diligently improved. On many subjects his knowledge appears to be extensive, accurate, and well digested. The general appearance of the country through which he travelled, its climate, diseases, agriculture, and commerce, the amusements, education, literature, and religion of the people, the administration of justice, and the recent history of Brazil, all attract his attention, and all are rendered entertaining or instructive to the reader. We are not aware of any work which presents so full and clear, and at the same time so lively and agreeable an account of the moral and social condition of the Brazilians, and of their political opinions and prospects. Indeed, all former travellers in Brazil, whose works have fallen under our notice, have given very crude, superficial, and unsatisfactory representations on these subjects. Our author, on the contrary, appears to have studied and entered into the very spirit of the people, and that rather like a judicious and sympathizing friend and fellow-citizen than a heartless stranger.

We shall not detain our readers with any further general remarks upon the work before us, but shall content ourselves with extracting from it a few passages, which will enable them to judge of its character better than any formal criticism.

The principal cause of the low moral and political condition of Brazil, and of the little benefit which has hitherto been reaped from its vast natural resources, is the frightful system of slavery under which the country is groaning. This subject our author has examined with great attention. His re-

marks upon it, in various parts of his volumes, are highly judicious and instructive; and the facts which he relates cannot be read by the most careless without a deep and melancholy interest. No one, probably, who has not made slavery a study, with however much abhorrence he may regard the system in theory, can imagine the nature and extent of the evil which flows from this fountain of bitterness.

When Dr. Walsh first landed at Rio Janeiro, he was very much struck with the appearance of the negro population.

'The whole labor of bearing and moving burdens is performed by these people, and the state in which they appear is revolting to humanity. Here was a number of beings entirely naked, with the exception of a covering of dirty rags tied about their waists. Their skins, from constant exposure to the weather, had become hard, crusty, and seamed, resembling the coarse black covering of some beast, or like that of an elephant, a wrinkled hide scattered with scanty hairs. On contemplating their persons, you saw them with a physical organization resembling beings of a grade below the rank of man; long projecting heels, the *gastrocnemius* muscle wanting, and no calves to their legs; their mouths and chins protruded, their noses flat, their foreheads retiring, having exactly the head and legs of the baboon tribe. Some of these beings were yoked to drays, on which they dragged heavy burdens. Some were chained by the necks and legs, and moved with loads thus encumbered. Some followed each other in ranks, with heavy weights on their heads, chattering the most inarticulate and dismal cadence as they moved along. Some were munching young sugar-canes like beasts of burden eating green provender, and some were seen near the water, lying on the bare ground among filth and offal, coiled up like dogs, and seeming to expect or require no more comfort or accommodation, exhibiting a state and conformation so unhuman, that they not only seemed, but actually were, far below the inferior animals around them. Horses and mules were not employed in this way; they were used only for pleasure, and not labor. They were seen in the same streets, pampered, spirited, and richly caparisoned, enjoying a state far superior to the negroes, and appearing to look down on the fettered and burdened wretches they were passing, as on beings of an inferior rank in the creation to themselves. Some of the negroes actually seemed to envy the caparisons of their fellow brutes, and eyed with jealousy their glittering harness. In imitation of this finery, they were fond of thrums of many-colored threads; and I saw one

creature, who supported the squalid rag that wrapped his waist by a suspender of gaudy worsted, which he turned every moment to look at, on his naked shoulder. The greater number, however, were as unconscious of any covering for use or ornament, as a pig or an ass.

'The first impression of all this on my mind, was to shake the conviction I had always felt, of the wrong and hardship inflicted on our black fellow creatures, and that they were only in that state which God and nature had assigned them; that they were the lowest grade of human existence, and the link that connected it with the brute, and that the gradation was so insensible, and their natures so intermingled, that it was impossible to tell where one had terminated and the other commenced; and that it was not surprising that people who contemplated them every day, so formed, so employed, and so degraded, should forget their claims to that rank in the scale of beings in which modern philanthropists are so anxious to place them. I did not at the moment myself recollect, that the white man, made a slave on the coast of Africa, suffers not only a similar mental but physical deterioration from hardships and emaciation, and becomes in time the dull and deformed beast I now saw yoked to a burden.

'A few hours only were necessary to correct my first impressions of the negro population, by seeing them under a different aspect. We were attracted by the sound of military music, and found it proceeded from a regiment drawn up in one of the streets. Their colonel had just died, and they attended to form a procession to celebrate his obsequies. They were all of different shades of black, but the majority were negroes. Their equipment was excellent; they wore dark jackets, white pantaloons, and black leather caps and belts, all which, with their arms, were in high order. Their band produced sweet and agreeable music, of the leader's own composition, and the men went through some evolutions with regularity and dexterity. They were only a militia regiment, yet were as well appointed and disciplined as one of our regiments of the line. Here then was the first step in that gradation by which the black population of this country ascend in the scale of humanity; he advances from the state below that of a beast of burden into a military rank, and he shows himself as capable of discipline and improvement as a human being of any other color.

'Our attention was next attracted by negro men and women bearing about a variety of articles for sale; some in baskets, some on boards and cases carried on their heads. They be-

longed to a class of small shop-keepers, many of whom vend their wares at home, but the greater number send them about in this way, as in itinerant shops. A few of these people were still in a state of bondage, and brought a certain sum every evening to their owners, as the produce of their daily labor. But a large proportion, I was informed, were free, and exercised this little calling on their own account. They were all very neat and clean in their persons, and had a decorum and sense of respectability about them, superior to whites of the same class and calling. All their articles were good in their kind, and neatly kept, and they sold them with simplicity and confidence, neither wishing to take advantage of others, nor suspecting that it would be taken of themselves. I bought some confectionary from one of the females, and I was struck with the modesty and propriety of her manner; she was a young mother, and had with her a neatly dressed child, of which she seemed very fond. I gave it a little comfit, and it turned up its dusky countenance to her and then to me, taking my sweetmeat and at the same time kissing my hand. As yet unacquainted with the coin of the country, I had none that was current about me, and was leaving the articles; but the poor young woman pressed them on me with a ready confidence, repeating in broken Portuguese, *outo tempo*. I am sorry to say, the "other time" never came, for I could not recognise her person afterwards to discharge her little debt, though I went to the same place for the purpose.

'It soon began to grow dark, and I was attracted by a number of persons bearing large lighted wax tapers, like torches, gathering before a house. As I passed by, one was put into my hand by a man who seemed in some authority, and I was requested to fall into a procession that was forming. It was the preparation for a funeral, and on such occasions, I learned that they always request the attendance of a passing stranger, and feel hurt if they are refused. I joined the party, and proceeded with them to a neighbouring church. When we entered we ranged ourselves on each side of a platform which stood near the choir, on which was laid an open coffin, covered with pink silk and gold borders. The funeral service was chanted by a choir of priests, one of whom was a negro, a large comely man, whose jet black visage formed a strong and striking contrast to his white vestments. He seemed to perform his part with a decorum and sense of solemnity, which I did not observe in his brethren. After scattering flowers on the coffin, and fumigating it with incense, they retired, the procession dispersed, and we returned on board.

'I had been but a few hours on shore, for the first time, and I saw an African negro under four aspects of society; and it appeared to me, that in every one his character depended on the state in which he was placed, and the estimation in which he was held. As a despised slave, he was far lower than other animals of burthen that surrounded him; more miserable in his look, more revolting in his nakedness, more distorted in his person, and apparently more deficient in intellect than the horses and mules that passed him by. Advanced to the grade of a soldier, he was clean and neat in his person, amenable to discipline, expert at his exercises, and showed the port and bearing of a white man similarly placed. As a citizen, he was remarkable for the respectability of his appearance, and the decorum of his manners in the rank assigned him; and as a priest, standing in the house of God, appointed to instruct society on their most important interests, and in a grade in which moral and intellectual fitness is required, and a certain degree of superiority is expected, he seemed even more devout in his impressions, and more correct in his manners, than his white associates. I came, therefore, to the irresistible conclusion in my mind, that color was an accident affecting the surface of a man, and having no more to do with his qualities than his clothes—that God had equally created an African in the image of his person, and equally given him an immortal soul; and that an European had no pretext but his own cupidity, for impiously thrusting his fellow man from that rank in the creation which the Almighty had assigned him, and degrading him below the lot of the brute beasts that perish.'—Vol. i. pp. 82–85.

The last paragraph of the foregoing extract ought to be studied by every slave-holder. In other passages the author points out some of the evils arising from slavery in Brazil. We extract a single one.

'A very considerable part of the wealth of Rio is vested in this property, and slaves form the income and support of a vast number of individuals, who hire them out, as people in Europe do horses and mules. This is one great cause, that prevents the adoption of machinery in abridging manual labor, as so many persons have an interest in its being performed by the slaves alone. This is particularly the case in the custom-house. A crane was imported from England, capable of enabling two negroes to move and manage weights which now require twenty; but this was violently opposed and effectually resisted, as every person in the establishment possessed a number of negroes, even down to the lowest clerks, who had five or six

each, for whose labor they were paid. "It would excite laughter, if it was not for the sorrow which it occasions," said Bonafacio Andrada, "to see twenty slaves in Brazil employed in carrying to market twenty bags of sugar, which might be conveyed thither on one well-constructed cart drawn by two oxen or a pair of mules."

'There has been such a rage for acquiring this sort of property, that negroes themselves who had obtained their freedom, frequently sent ventures to Africa to purchase their countrymen, who were brought back to them in exchange for the beads and looking-glasses which they sent out. It is a frightful thing, that those poor creatures have been so instructed by the example of their masters; and their conversion to Christianity has only taught them to reduce their kindred to that state, to which they themselves felt such a horror.

'Every intelligent person in the country seems convinced, that a state of slavery is highly injurious to its best interests. The abolition of the slave-trade abroad, and the gradual extinction of a state of slavery at home, had begun to engage the attention of the first constituent assembly, when it was suddenly dissolved; but the spirit and feeling that suggested the consideration still exists in the country, notwithstanding the powerful personal interests opposed to it. The preponderance of the black population is a subject of deep alarm, and the danger of its increase has reconciled many people to the speedy abolition of the foreign trade; while the numerous obstacles presented to the industry and prosperity of the country by the employment of slaves at home, have convinced many of them, that its evils far exceed its benefits. As long as labor, they say, is performed by the hands of slaves, no white man who can buy them will exert himself, and indolence and inactivity will ever be, as it is now, the characteristic of the Brazilian. As long as a man's property is vested in slaves, which he must have employed by others in order to live himself, no machinery to abridge manual labor will ever be admitted or encouraged in the country, and the people will continue to use the few miserable and crazy expedients which their ancestors used two centuries ago. As long as two-thirds of the community are regarded as mere chattels, the interests of the proprietor will ever be considered paramount to public justice; and crimes will be committed with impunity by those who are not looked upon in the light of moral agents, because their punishment would be a loss of property to their owners. As long as men live as they do with their female slaves, the sacred bonds of parental and filial duty will be disregarded; fathers will sell their own chil-

dren as their slaves, and children will destroy their own parents, as slaves who endeavour to escape from bondage. As long as the unfortunate beings are objects to which the laws afford an inefficient protection, but are subject to the uncontrolled caprice and tyranny of their masters, it will be a continued incentive to every bad passion of the heart to indulge itself with impunity. These, and a thousand similar reflections, independent of political and natural rights, continually suggest themselves to the Brazilians, and incline them to consider seriously the evils of slavery in their country.

'The number of free blacks and mulattoes is very considerable already in the country. It is calculated of the former, that there are one hundred and sixty thousand; and of the latter four hundred and thirty thousand, making about six hundred thousand free men, who were either slaves themselves, or the descendants of slaves. These are, generally speaking, well-conducted and industrious persons; and compose indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests, and officers of different ranks. Every considerable town in the interior has regiments composed of them; and I saw at Villa Rica two corps of them, one consisting of four companies of free blacks, and the other of seven companies of mulattoes. The benefits arising from these, have greatly disposed the whites to consider the propriety and necessity of gradually amalgamating the rest with the free population of the country, and abolishing for ever that outrage upon the laws of God and man, the condition of a slave.' — Vol. II. pp. 199–201.

We regret that our limits will not allow us to make any farther extracts on the subject of slavery. Melancholy as the condition of Brazil is, it is gratifying to know that the government has at last abolished the slave-trade. Our author mentions, that by a treaty between Great Britain and Brazil, the latter power agreed to abolish the slave-trade after March 23, 1830. After that time the traffic was to become piracy. This treaty, which was made in 1826, and ratified in 1827, led to a great increase in the number of slaves imported into the country during the succeeding years. The abolition of the trade by Brazil, which was long, we believe, the greatest slave-market in the world, must be regarded as a great triumph of humanity, and will no doubt have a favorable influence upon the moral condition of that country.

Some estimate of the character of the Brazilians may be formed from the state of the periodical press.

'The Brazilians are an improving people, and though their literary progress is not great, it is, I imagine, much more so than in any other new state in South America.

'In periodicals, gazettes, and newspapers, they are still more advanced. In the year 1828, there were one hundred and thirty-three periodical papers printed in the whole peninsula, of which twenty-five were published in Brazil; viz. fifteen at Rio, three at Bahia, and the rest at Pernambuco, St. Paul's, St. João d'el Rey, and Villa Rica. Those at Rio were "Imperio do Brazil," "Diario do Rio Janeiro," and "Journal do Commercio," daily; "Analista," "Aurora Fluminense," "Astréa," "Courier du Brésil" (French), three times a week; "Rio Herald" (English), once a week; "Malagueta," "Diario dos Deputados," "D. do Senado," "Despertador Constitucional," "Censor Brazilico," occasionally; "Espelho Diamantino," monthly; "Propagador," or Annals of Medicine, Zoölogy, and Botany, yearly.

'Of these, the "Aurora" is the most decided and liberal. The columns rarely admit foreign news, and are entirely devoted to keeping alive the constitutional spirit. "It is the constitution," it says, "full and reduced to practice, which forms, and is to form, the infallible rule of our social life. It is for this we live, for this we have fought, and for this we will fight for ever." The "Diario do Rio Janeiro" is printed on wretched paper, and is scarcely legible; it consists almost entirely of edicts and decrees, with from sixty to seventy advertisements.' — Vol. I. p. 236.

The 'Analista' is then noticed as an excessively stupid paper, and the organ of the government. The 'Malagueta' is said to be distinguished for its bitter personalities. '*Malagueta* is the native name for a small species of capsicum, the most biting and pungent of all peppers, as this is of periodicals.'

'The "Courier du Brésil" is written in French, and published on Wednesdays and Saturdays. It gives the fairest and almost the only statement of things passing in the interior, and the news of other countries much more copiously than all the rest; but it is a ministerial paper, and for that reason bitterly denounced. The "Malagueta" charges it with being an emissary of the French government, sent to invade the country beforehand. The "Farol Paulista," a provincial paper, thinks it a crime not to be forgiven, that its editor is a Frenchman; and the "Aurora" denounces it to the police. These opinions are evidences of the exceeding jealousy of the people, and their

suspensions of all strangers, as enemies to their independence and liberty.

'The "*Journal do Commercio*," like the "*Diario*," is printed on wretched paper, and the typography so bad that it is hardly legible, though it is in more demand than any other. It is almost entirely filled with editals and advertisements; every publication containing from eighty to one hundred. Under the head of "*Noticias Particulares*," one person is informed, that if he does not bring back the books he borrowed, his name will be made public; another, that a particular person wants to speak to him, and warning him at his peril not to disappoint; a third, that his stagnant water is very offensive, and if he does not throw it out, a neighbour will come and spill it in his parlor. Some curious notices also appear from ladies: — "The senhor, who was in the house of Luiza de Conceição, in the street of *Livradio*, No. 1, and who requested from the senhora some paper to write on; and having finished his letter, took from her drawer four milreis in gold, a bank note for eight milreis, and a pair of silk stockings, is requested to restore the articles, if he does not wish to see his name in public. The same favor is requested from the gentleman who carried away her fan, otherwise his name shall also appear."

'Distributed frequently with the papers, is a loose sheet, called "*Correspondencia*:" — it consists of a letter to the editor, attacking some individuals with whom the writer has had a dispute, and it generally contains the most extraordinary libels that ever were published. The editor of the paper, who prints and circulates the libel, incurs no responsibility, provided he does not refuse to print and circulate a libellous answer. I send you one or two specimens, which came to me folded up in my newspapers.

'Retribution. — God being pleased to call from this world to a better, the merchant João Pereira Borba, and he being a man of correct life, wished to prove before his death, by an authentic testimony, that he was an honest man, whose ashes should be respected; and to that end he inserted the following clause in his will: — "I declare that I always have been a neighbour of the merchant José Loureno Dios, a native of *S. João d'el Rey*, with whom I lived in close friendship; and for that reason, I strictly enjoin my heir not to demand from him a large debt, which he contracted at my store, by his constant and daily visits to the bung of a cask of Catalonian wine; for it would be a burden to my conscience, if what he owes me was demanded, since it was the vicinity of my store to the said merchant's house, that was the real and proximate cause of his

disgracing himself every day, by constant intoxication, by which he has directly and indirectly offended all his countrymen. It would, therefore, be manifest injustice to receive money for that, which renders the merchant this day so contemptible in the eyes of all fellow citizens.

ONE OF THE OFFENDED."'

— Vol. I. pp. 237–239.

Such of our readers as desire to know something of the personal appearance and modes of living of the citizens of Rio, will be gratified with the following lively description.

'The manners of the people of Rio, though not polished, are kind and cordial. I had opportunities of witnessing those of all ranks. Immediately after our arrival, we dined with Baron Mareschal, the Austrian plenipotentiary, where I met the whole of the ministry, and other distinguished Brazilians. They were men generally of low stature, and had not the least appearance or pretension of a similar class in Europe. The greater number had been engaged in business, and being men of opulence when the separation of the countries took place, naturally stepped into those situations, formerly occupied by strangers of rank from the parent country. They were men of the plainest manners, laughing, good-humored, and accessible, like common-councilmen at a London feast. Their dress, however, was rich and expensive; and some of them wore large golden keys, attached like small swords to their sides, intimating that they performed the office of chamberlain to his Majesty. Among them was a little man, with a sharp, pock-marked visage, formerly a jeweller, but now the *arbitrator* of the court. He holds no official situation, but has attained the same influence over the Emperor that Halet Efendi possessed over the Sultan when I was at Constantinople. He is familiarly called in Rio, Chalassa, a local term, synonymous, I believe, with *bon vivant*.

'Shortly after, I was at a ball given by M. Pontois, the French Chargé d'Affaires, where I saw the ladies who composed the beau monde of Rio, dancing waltzes and quadrilles. They, like the men, were remarkably low of stature, with sallow complexions, and dark eyes and hair. The latter was dressed remarkably high, and ornamented with various productions of the country; among these were the shells of a very beautiful species of beetle, of a rich vivid green, more bright and lustrous than the finest emerald. They danced well, and their manners were very affable and unaffected.

'The shop-keepers of Rio are rather repulsive in their ad-

dress, and so little disposed to take trouble, that a customer is often induced to leave the shop, by the careless way in which he is treated. They are exceedingly fond of sedentary games of chance, such as cards and draughts, and often engage at them on their counters. I have sometimes gone in at those times to purchase an article, and the people were so interested in their game, that they would not leave it to attend to me and sell their goods. They are, however, honest and correct in their dealings, and bear good moral characters. Their charity is boundless, as appears by the sums expended on different objects by the *irmandades*, or brotherhoods, which they form. They are, as far as I have heard, generally speaking, good fathers and husbands, and their families are brought up with strictness and propriety. It is pleasing to see them walking out together, the corpulent parents going before, and the children and domestics following in their orders. The women are fond of black, wear no caps, but a black veil is generally thrown over their bare heads, which hangs down below their bosom and back; and as it is generally worked and spotted, it makes their faces look, at a little distance, as if they were covered with black patches. They always wear silk stockings and shoes, and are particularly neat and careful in the decorations of their feet and legs, which are generally small and well-shaped. The boys of this rank are remarkably obliging; when I saw any thing among them that seemed curious, and I expressed a wish to look at it, they always pressed it on my acceptance with great good nature, and seemed pleased at an opportunity of gratifying me.' — Vol. i. pp. 258–260.

One or two extracts will serve as specimens of the spirited and graceful manner in which Mr. Walsh describes natural objects.

'But among the trees, which gave the woods, to an European, a peculiar character, none was more striking than the singularity of the palm-trees. These were seen shooting above the rest to an immense height, with their long and slender stems, crowned with feathery foliage, like ostriches' plumes, waving in the air; and of all these, the assai (*euterpe oleracea*,) is the most elegant and beautiful. It is the taper palm which yields the cabbage. It rises from a slender stem, not more than six inches in diameter at the base; and it shoots up to the height sometimes of one hundred feet, or more. The stem is marked by annual rings, five or six inches asunder, and near the summit is a long succulent cylinder, from whence the leaves issue. This green footstalk contains the embryo of the plant.

It consists of the rudiments of the future leaves, beautifully plaited, and convoluted at the centre; and their developement from hence forms the elegant tuft that crowns the summit. This portion is exceedingly tender, yielding a pleasant and wholesome vegetable, like cabbage, boiled, and eaten with meat. From all parts of the woods, this elegant tree was seen shooting above its companions, waving in every breeze its long flexible stem, and its tuft of light silken leaves. It seemed, indeed, to belong more to the sky than the earth; for in some places it crowned the summits of the highest ridges, and was the only one whose foliage was seen projected on the blue sky, like Berenice's hair floating in the starry firmament; for the stem that supported it was so slender, that it could not be discerned in the distance. It was with great regret I first attacked this beautiful tree, and utterly destroyed it for the small portion of its esculent part. When we saw it growing on the side of a hill, near the road, we seized its taper stem, and bent it down, till it snapped off near the root, and lay prostrate across the way. Here with a faka, we cut off its graceful head, and left its body to decay. In any other country, this might be deemed a wanton and unjustifiable act of destruction; but in this it was only removing that which encumbered the soil with its profusion.

But the destruction of trees in these woods does not lessen the abundance of vegetable life. On every blasted stem which had lost its own bark and leaves, a crop of parasites had succeeded, and covered the naked wood with their no less luxuriant leaves and flowers. Of these, the different species of air-plants (*epidendron*), and barren pines (*tillandsia*), were the most remarkable. The first were no less singular than beautiful; they attach themselves to the dryest and most sapless surface, and bloom as if issuing from the richest soils. A specimen of one of these, which I thought curious, I threw into my portmanteau, where it was forgotten; and some months after, in unfolding some linen, I was astonished to find a rich scarlet flower, of the gynandrous class, in full blow: it had not only lived, but vegetated and blossomed, though so long secluded from air, light, and humidity. Every withered tree here was covered with them, bearing flowers of all hues, from the brightest yellow to the deepest scarlet. They are easily propagated by transplanting; and my good friend, colonel Cunningham, had all the trees in his garden at Bota Fogo covered with them. The barren pine is not less extraordinary. It also grows on sapless trees, and never on the ground. Its seeds are furnished, on the crown, with a long filmy fibre, like the thread

of gossamer. As they ripen, they are detached, and driven with the wind, having the long thread streaming behind them. When they meet with the obstruction of a withered branch, the thread is caught, and revolving round, the seed at length comes into fixed contact with the surface, where it soon vegetates, and supplies the naked arm with a new foliage. Here it grows, like the common plant of a pine apple, and shoots from its centre a long spike of bright scarlet blossoms. In some species, (*tillandsia*, *utriculata*, and *lingulata*), the leaves are protuberant below, and form vessels like pitchers, which catch and retain the rain water, furnishing cool and limpid draughts to the heated traveller, in elevations where no water is to be found. The quantity of fluid contained in these reservoirs is sometimes very considerable; and in attempting to reach the flower stem, I have been often drenched by upsetting the plant.' — Vol. II. pp. 169, 170.

Having entered on the plains, he says,

'The birds here were more numerous, and their notes more cheerful, than in the dense forests we had passed. The most usual and attractive is João de Barros, or John of the Clay, because he always builds a regular house of it. We saw this constantly, in shape like an Irish cabin, built on the upper side of a large branch of a tree, not pendent, but erect. It consisted of an edifice, with an arched roof, having a corridor, or porch, with a door leading to an inner apartment. With a singular instinct, the door was always found on the side from which the wind less frequently blew; and the edifice was so strong and well constructed, that one has been known to last its ingenious architect many winters. The bird is about the size of a lark, or larger, and is sometimes called the yellow thrush. It is exceedingly familiar, and generally found near ranchos and villages. Whenever we approached, we saw John clinging to the branch of a tree, in an upright position, announcing our coming with a shrill, lively note, as if he was the warder placed there to warn the inhabitants of the arrival of a stranger. His cheerful salutation, however, was not confined to human habitations, but he frequently accosted us far from the haunts of men; and his lively note of welcome often met our ear in the most solitary places.

'Another familiar and cheerful bird was the Ben te vi, so called from the perfect accuracy with which he pronounces these words. He is about the size of a sparrow, and distinguished by a circle of white round his head, with a yellow belly. Whenever we passed, he put his head out of the bush,

and peeping at us from under the leaves, he said "Ben te vi — Oh, I saw you!" with an arch expression, as if he had observed something which he could tell if he pleased." — Vol. II. p. 172.

The recent revolution in which Don Pedro has been compelled to abdicate the throne of Brazil, as hastily as James the Second did that of England, has attracted some attention to this unfortunate emperor. No one who has read the volumes before us will be surprised at this catastrophe. The abdicated monarch has on former occasions exhibited great activity, energy, and decision, and much tact and good sense in complying promptly and gracefully with the popular will. Our author, however, represents him as arbitrary and despotic in his principles, and in all his concessions to the people, as not guided by any wish to make the institutions of his country more free, but as only yielding to a force which he perceived himself unable to resist. His measures in some cases have been violent and sanguinary. It is not wonderful that among a people fickle and restless, filled with a love of republicanism, and whose political views are shifting and confused, the emperor, even if he had given no serious cause of offence, should have become unpopular. But it will be strange if a monarchical government should continue for any length of time in that country, surrounded as it is by republican states. Some particulars respecting the late emperor will perhaps be found interesting.

'The emperor's habits are very active and very temperate. He rises every morning before day, and, not sleeping himself, is not disposed to let others sleep. He usually begins, therefore, with discharging his fowling-piece about the palace, till all the family are up. He breakfasts at seven o'clock, and continues engaged in business or amusement till twelve, when he again goes to bed and remains till half past one; he then rises and dresses for dinner. The Brazilians, as far as I have observed, are neat and cleanly in their persons; and the emperor is eminently so. He is never seen in soiled linen or dirty clothes. He dines with his family at two, makes a temperate meal, and seldom exceeds a glass of wine, and then amuses himself with his children, of whose society he is very fond. He is a strict and severe, but an affectionate father, and they at once love and fear him. I heard Baron Marechal, the Austrian minister, say, he one day paid him a visit: he met no person at the door to introduce him; so availing him-

self of his intimacy, he entered without being announced. He found the emperor in an inner room, playing with his children with his coat off, entering with great interest into all their amusements, and like another Henry IV. was not ashamed to be found by a foreign ambassador so employed. At nine he retires to bed.

His education was early neglected, and he has never redeemed the lost time. He still, however, retains some classical recollections, and occasionally takes up a Latin book, particularly the breviary, which he reads generally in that language. He wished to acquire a knowledge of English, and to that end he commenced, along with his children, a course of reading with the Rev. Mr. Tilbury, an Englishman, who has taken orders in the Catholic church, and to whose courtesy and information on several subjects, I am very much indebted. After having made some progress, he laid it aside and began to learn French, in which he sometimes converses. He has an English groom, from whom also he unfortunately learned some English. This fellow, I am informed, is greatly addicted to swearing and indecent language, and the emperor, and even the late empress, adopted some of his phraseology, without being aware of its import.

In his domestic expenses he is exceedingly frugal. The careless profusion of his father, and the total derangement of the finances, had involved the country in such difficulties, that he found it necessary to set an example of frugality in his own person, by limiting himself to a certain expenditure. In his speech to the constituent assembly, he announced this determination. "The king's disbursement," said he, "amounted to four millions; mine does not exceed one. I am resolved to live as a private gentleman, receiving only one hundred and ten thousand milreis for my private expenses, except the allowance to which my wife is entitled by her marriage contract." This at the rate of exchange before we left Rio, would not have amounted to more than ten thousand pounds per annum. His present allowance, as fixed by the chambers, is two hundred thousand milreis for himself, and twelve thousand for his children. To make this answer, he engages in various profitable pursuits, and adopts in every thing, the most rigid system of economy. He lets out his fazenda at Santa Cruz, for grazing cattle passing to Rio from the Minas Geraes, and receives so much a-head from the drovers. His slaves cut capim, and sell it, on his account, in the streets, where they were pointed out to me, distinguished by plates on their caps. He derives, also, a revenue, I am told, from several caxas shops, of which he is the pro-

prietor, and thinks, like Vespasian, that the money is not at all affected by the medium through which it passes. In his domestic expenses, he is rigid even to parsimony. He allows a very small sum to his cook, of the expenditure of which he exacts a minute account, and is very angry if this trifling sum is exceeded on any occasion; and it is said, that this was one cause of his disagreement with the late empress, whose free and careless bounty he never could restrain.' — Vol. II. pp. 250-252.

We shall not continue our extracts. Those which we have already made will enable our readers to judge of the merits of the work we have been examining. If we should copy all the passages which we have read with pleasure, they would comprise a very large portion of the two volumes.

ART. III. *Christ and Christianity: Sermons on the Mission, Character, and Doctrine of Jesus of Nazareth.* By W. J. Fox. In two volumes. London. 1831. 12mo.

THESE are beautiful volumes, beautiful in conception and in execution; — not faultless, of course, but with so much rich thought and energetic expression, so many happy illustrations of the times of the Saviour, and so many bright glimpses of high and stirring truth, that we avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity to recommend them to our readers. With the name and character of the author they are already familiar. His occasional sermons and tracts, and especially his Course of Lectures, on the 'Corruption, Revival, and Future Influence of Genuine Christianity,' have made him well known as a strong thinker and eloquent writer. The anniversary meetings of religious associations in Great Britain, have presented him to us as a glowing speaker on those occasions of excitement and benevolence. And those who from amongst ourselves have visited the father-land, have told us of the interest with which they have gone up to the chapel in Finsbury Square, and how they have seen there the crowded congregation hanging on his words and mastered by the power of his eloquence.

The leading idea of the work, which runs through it as a thread, is that of interpreting the Christian System by the character of its Author. His aim has been, Mr. Fox tells us,

“to display the spirit of the Gospel as illustrated by, and identified with, the character and ministry of its Founder.” This he has done, not in a professed series of discourses, written in connexion with this design, and with the purpose of publication; but by a selection from the sermons which he had casually prepared in the course of his ministry. Such a selection cannot of course present any thing like a systematic and thorough treatment of the subject, in its due order and just proportions. For its complete exposition in the most satisfactory way, the form of a digested treatise might have been more advisable. But it is pleasant to see how the preacher discusses such topics in his ordinary ministry; and in the local associations which pertain to a sermon, the day, the temple, the congregation, and the voice and action of the speaker, we have sources of interest which a mere book does not possess. The latter may have greater condensation, a more exact method, and less repetition; but it wants the vivacity and zest which are imparted to the former by a connexion with living men and active scenes. Perhaps in the great majority of instances, sermons do not actually possess this advantage over other forms of composition; for they are written too hastily and carelessly; they contain too few ideas; and especially they do not carry the air of actual addresses and exhortations which have been really made to an assembly; they are too merely dry didactic discussions, with which it is difficult to associate the idea of rhetorical enunciation. They are at once too empty in point of thought, and too coolly careful in point of language. There has been too little of the study, we may perhaps say, of the attempt, to unite in the pulpit the exactness of the dissertation with the form and freedom of the harangue; so that we have, on the one hand, well-considered and well-written papers fit only for the closet of the scholar, and, on the other, random declamations destitute of careful thought and profitable argument, fit only to stir the senses and blindly excite the passions. Some preachers are always philosophically and logically correct, and never offend a delicate taste, but never stir an affection of the heart; while others spend their hour in exclamatory and miscellaneous remarks, without method or purpose, yet contrive to touch some springs of feeling, and rivet attention to some important truths. Now it certainly is not impossible to unite the regular discussion of a subject with the animation of a rhe-

torical address ; as is proved by many illustrious examples in the pulpit as well as in the various walks of secular eloquence, and among others by that of the author before us. He has industriously studied, and with no small success, to unite these two qualities. Some of his sermons are perhaps rather more miscellaneous in their contents than is often well ; but he cannot be accused of the sin of dryness ; in his most careful discussion, he never forgets that he is addressing a promiscuous audience ; and he consequently adopts a style of expression and of illustration suited to attract the ear, and excite and sustain the attention. If some should think that in doing this he occasionally treads on the border of the declamatory style, let them remember that he writes as a speaker, with a view to men of every capacity and taste ; and that they ought to be satisfied, while passages of the most graceful and chaste composition remain to delight the fastidious, that paragraphs of a more venturesome and sounding description should be left for those who are charmed with the showy and magnificent. For ourselves, we must say that we think the declamatory preferable to the soporific ; and we would rather that the declamation were a little too gorgeous, than that it should not effectually break the slumbers of the congregation.

As regards the subject of the volumes, it is one full of interest ; and of so wide extent that it allows the introduction of every variety of style, from that of the most naked reasoning to that of the most ornamented description or most pathetic appeal. It is 'Christ and Christianity' ; — whatever in the former may elucidate the character and purposes of the latter, may here have place. The preacher goes on the idea, that if we could know what Christianity is, we must understand and feel what Christ was. 'He was the Christian revelation' ; and it is by the study and development of his character, that we are to unfold the true principles and character of his system. From the excellent proportions of that holy and beautiful model, we are to learn the excellencies of his religion ; and we shall thus ascertain what is truth concerning the doctrines he taught and the precepts he delivered, with far greater certainty than by merely examining them through the laws of philological interpretation, and reasoning from abstract principles. This thought is applied in various ways, and sometimes with great power and felicity. Many of the discourses are on topics which are only remotely and indirectly

connected with this main thought; such as the Doctrine of Providence, Social Duty, Christian Liberty, the Coming of the Son of Man; but they are still so treated as to help the accomplishment of the general purpose.

We shall not pretend to give an analysis of the contents of these volumes, or to discuss any of the numerous important questions which they suggest to us. We esteem it fairer to our author to give such extracts as will enable our readers to ascertain for themselves the mode in which he speculates on points of importance, as well as the style in which he treats the ordinary topics of the pulpit.

His general mode of viewing the Christian system may be seen in the third sermon, entitled, 'Christianity Defined.' He inquires whether, rightly considered, 'it be a system of doctrine or discipline at all; and whether it be not rather a fact, or a series of facts; from which, indeed, certain doctrines may be deduced, and to extend the moral influence of which certain discipline may perhaps be usefully exercised; but which is, in itself, distinct from both.' In illustration of this idea, he quotes the address of Peter to Cornelius — the first announcement of the gospel to a heathen — which, he says, may fairly be taken as 'a compendium of Christianity, an abridged gospel'; and then proceeds thus:

'Now omitting what, in this discourse, is merely confirmatory or introductory, as the baptism of John, and the witnessing of Apostles and Prophets; and an expression which belongs to the philosophy, or perhaps only the phraseology of the day, the ascription of disease to the devil; of what does it consist? Simply of a statement of facts. It affirms the mission, work, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. These, then, are Christianity.

'Has Christianity, then, no doctrines? Yes; whatever doctrines are borne out by these facts. Has Christianity no morals? Yes; whatever habits these facts influence men to the formation of; whatever actions these facts show to be connected with his happiness. Still these are the branches, and the facts the stem; these are the produce of Christianity; those are Christianity itself. That this view has the testimony not only of Peter but of the sacred writers generally is an assertion which I would rest on two circumstances, which may be verified by an inspection of the Acts and Epistles. 1. That the admission of these facts constituted a believer, a Christian; as is evident by referring to the recorded conversions generally:

And 2, that whenever even the Apostles went beyond these, they reasoned the matter; if with the Jews, from the Old Testament; if with heathens, from nature; if with believers, from these admitted facts. Each may be illustrated in Paul. In the synagogue at Antioch he appealed to the Hebrew prophets. On Mars' Hill at Athens he argued from the majesty of the creature to that of the Creator. Writing to the Christians of Corinth he inferred the resurrection of man from the resurrection of Christ. The general practice, then, as well as the particular instance, conducts us to the conclusion that Christianity consists of facts from which theological truths are to be elicited by the exercise of human reason.' — Vol. 1. pp. 36, 37.

He recurs to the same topic in a subsequent discourse. Among the advantages which result from this mode of viewing Christianity, he states the following.

'It simplifies the arguments for Christianity against the Deist. It is astonishing how much has been written by both parties in this controversy, which is completely beside the mark; how much has been laboriously proved or disproved which mattered nothing, whether true or false, to the great question at issue. That question is really a bare historical fact; did Jesus of Nazareth rise from the dead? He who disproves that fact, destroys Christianity; and he who has proved that fact, has proved Christianity. When Deists object to the way in which Jewish warriors used their victories, or Jewish prophets communicated their instructions; when they assail the apostleship of this man or the authority of that book; when they detect exploded philosophy in Moses, or inconsequential argument in Paul; when they labor to show a proverb not wise, or a precept not practicable; when they argue that Joshua was not merciful, and David not pure, and the Jews not refined, and the insane not possessed; and when they call this disproving Christianity, they are as trifling as the divines who, with infinite zeal and toil, meet them on all these points, and call that establishing Christianity. Were the Deists completely triumphant on every one of these points (which is very far indeed from being the case), still Christianity would not be demolished; would not be shaken, would not be touched. It would stand like a castle on a rock; and all that the combatants had ascertained would be, whether certain plants at its base were weeds or flowers. What can be more absurd than such arguments as these: the Trinity is not a rational doctrine, therefore Christ did not rise from the dead; or, Jewish doctors were wrong as to the cause of insanity, therefore Christ did

not rise from the dead ; or, Moses did not understand Sir Isaac Newton's theory of the planetary system, therefore Christ did not rise from the dead ? And yet to this may very much be reduced which has been put forth as destructive of Christianity. For, if it disprove not that fact, it disproves nothing.' — Vol. 1. pp. 40 – 42.

Our next extract is of a passage which contains a very just remark respecting the comparative light of nature and of revelation beautifully expressed.

'There is no comparison between the importance of that knowledge of God which the great bulk of mankind has derived from nature, and that which it owes to revelation. In fact, they owe all to revelation ; nor without it did even the wisest ever attain, nor in all probability ever would they have attained, to any thing like a just and complete view of the religious instructions of nature. The natural only became understood as it was illustrated by the supernatural. The mind seems always to repose on regularity, and is only roused by interruption to inquire into causes and tendencies. Miracles were the exciting cause of the devout contemplation of ordinary events. The most beautiful translation into human language of the voice of nature, of that speech which star uttereth to star, and day to night, in their maker's praise, is to be found in the writings of those whose minds were formed by the extraordinary interpositions of Judaism. He who most effectively taught to consider the lilies of the field how they grow, so as to infer the care of the heavenly Father over his rational offspring, was the subject of prophecy, a worker of miracles, and exhibited in his own person the resurrection of the dead. Even if there be actually no more religious truth than nature teaches, it is the merit of Christianity to have made millions know that truth, to have brought it forth from the seclusion of the philosopher's cell, and sent it to sojourn among the peasantry of the village, or city aloud in the streets of the crowded city. But the very nature of the case implies that revelation is much more than this ; it is the addition of a comparatively new class of facts, of the utmost importance, confirming in various ways the deductions from other sources, and bearing out many an inference, and suggesting many a hope, which could have been derived from no other source whatever.' — Vol. 1. pp. 20 – 22.

There are three sermons on the 'Progressive Character of the Gospel, as shown in its power to accommodate itself to, and keep pace with, the general improvement of mankind.'

In the first of these the writer takes the example of a child, and having described the suitableness of this religion to its young understanding and wants, proceeds to show how, as it advances to manhood and to the highest intellectual eminence, it still finds the Christian revelation infinitely adapted to its powers and its wants. We wish we had room for a longer extract:

‘Take the next higher gradation of intelligence, that of the child grown up to manhood, but without those advantages of education, the loss of which is amongst the heaviest privations of poverty. The mind may be stunted, but even under the most unfavorable circumstances it does grow, though it be but slowly. Judgment does become stronger, comprehension does become larger, observation does become keener, though scarcely more than the first sealed page is opened of the book of knowledge. The mind of the man, even of such a man as this, wants more in religion than that of a child. And whatever he wants, he finds. He finds it not in a distinct revelation, or portion of the revelation, for his use. There is not one book set apart for the child, and another for the man, like a succession of lessons at school. But he finds what he wants in the same book, the same narrative, the same passages, as those which furnished out the religion of the child. They mean more than they did then, because he needs, and can discern, more in them. He has become conscious of sin; he has felt the consequences of sin; he wants assurance of pardon, and there it is; in that very tale of the Father and his wandering Son, over which he wept in innocent sympathy and filial feeling, and over which he weeps now tears from a penitent heart in the reception of God’s mercy to a returning sinner. He has had his difficulties about the world; the regularity of some things, the irregularity of others; the falling out of like events to the good and the wicked; the frequent prosperity of the unrighteous; for all these are obvious enough to the observation of humble life, and painful and puzzling are they often. He goes to Christ; and the very words which told the child of God’s having a Father’s care, have become, have grown into, the doctrine of a Providence. He has become fearfully aware of the strength of his passions, the effect of circumstances of temptation, the power of evil habit: he wants more energy of self-restraint; he wants motive; and there it is for him, directing him to watch his heart; telling him of death, of judgment, of recompense, of punishment. His lot in this world is labor, and sorrow its frequent accompaniment. It is not so bright as it was to his young eyes, and all that relates to another

world grows on him in importance. The very word "rest," meaning so little to the child, has become to him a precious promise. The change is like that of the Apostles after the resurrection of their Master. The Christ of his admiration and love is no longer merely a benignant man upon the earth; his Christ is in heaven, and therefore the comforter is sent down into his heart. Yet all this is the self-same religion; the self-same story, told in the self-same words; but the mind has more strength, more experience, more wants, more capacities; and that same plain tale that delighted the child, proves that it can minister to all these, supply and fill them all, pervade the whole of the extended space, and be the religion of man; of uncultivated man; but of man, thinking, sinning, sorrowing, and hoping; and that with as much facility and perfectness as it was the religion of the very child.' — Vol. II. pp. 6–8.

The following is a specimen of the manner in which he treats doctrinal subjects in connexion with the character of Christ.

'All Christians have seen in his character the pattern of perfection. They were right. All Christians have felt it draw towards him the affections of their hearts; all love Christ: they are right in that too. And then they have generally represented the Deity with most unlike qualities and attributes; and in that they have gone wrong; the more wrong the farther they departed from this rule. And this is the fundamental error of the prevalent systems of religion; the basis of the worst corruptions of the Gospel. If, instead of speculating on the divinity of Christ's nature, they would but reason consistently on the reflected divinity of his character, how speedily would our theological differences be brought to a close, and all minds and hearts be irradiated by "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ!"' — p. 286. 'Theologians say that God avenged the honor of his broken laws, and satisfied the claims of his justice, and made a needful opening for the exercise of his mercy to the repentant sinner, by imputing the sins of mankind to Christ, and visiting their punishment on his head. They never learned that either, by observing the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. His heart and life neither exhibited nor recognised any such moral principle as this sort of vindictive justice. It was not thus that he dealt with those who offended against him. Nothing could be so prompt, rich, and free, as his forgiveness, unless that of God, as he taught, and we believe it to be exercised, in the parable of the prodigal son. Had the principle, ascribed by this faith

to God, been that of Christ, how would he have acted, for instance, when Peter denied him? Think of the enormous discrepancy which his then adopting it would have introduced into the gospel. Suppose him forgiving Peter, notwithstanding those tears of bitterness, and that subsequent life of devotion to his cause, only on condition that John, the beloved disciple, should, in his own mind and body, endure some penalty of heavy anguish, the outpouring of the vials of Jesus' wrath for the apostasy of Peter, imputed to him; would this have strengthened the precept to love Christ? Would this have been a scene for us to admire and venerate? Yet if God be the God of vindictive justice, thus should his glory have shone in the face of Jesus Christ. It was a purer light that beamed from his eye, when, in the midst of his false asseverations, "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter." That glance of affectionate upbraiding, of reproachful tenderness, of frank forgiveness, shone into his heart, as it does still into ours: "that is the true light." When the yet unconverted Paul was rushing on in his career, it is true the glorified appearance of Jesus struck him to the earth. But it was no blow of vengeance. Though he had aided in the infliction of death on Christians, there was no demand of blood for blood, his own, or that of a substitute; it was the blaze of mercy which blinded his eyes to irradiate his mind; it was the voice of godlike compassion which said, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" And then, with godlike generosity, came his apostolic commission and his Master's promise. Now, I say, that if we are to see, as this same Paul tells us in the text, "the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ"; if the moral character of Jesus be really a picturing forth to the world of the moral attributes of the Deity; then the common doctrines of atonement and satisfaction are utterly inconsistent with that character and those attributes, and have nothing to do with that eternal life which is in the knowledge of the Father, the only God, and Jesus Christ whom he sent.' — Vol. i. pp. 289–291.

We would gladly take much from the next discourse, on 'The Power of Christ's Character,' but must confine ourselves to one brief passage.

'I verily believe that the charatcer of Christ has operated materially, and will increasingly so, in preventing unbelief in some minds, and mitigating the hostility of unbelief in others. How many there have been, who, while they rejected Christianity, have yet paid homage to the beauty of the Saviour's character! They could not wage war with that. They felt as Titus when he would have spared the temple, while he gave

Jerusalem to desolation, and its sons to slaughter or captivity. Respect for the character of Christ draws a line of demarcation between the different classes of unbelievers. It almost universally distinguishes the nobler from the baser sort; the skeptic from the scoffer; the infidelity of misguided minds from that of vicious passions. And I have known its efficacy, where other means had failed, in preserving, and even in converting, from unbelief.' — pp. 305, 306.

There seems to us great sweetness in the paragraphs which follow.

'On two occasions, especially, we are informed that Jesus wept; the one a case of private, the other of public calamity. The first was at the grave of Lazarus; — of Lazarus, his personal and intimate friend, in whose house he had abode, and with whom he had taken sweet counsel; — of Lazarus, whom he loved, and *his* affection was of no ordinary strength; whose sisters were looking up to him in all the first helplessness and agony of bereavement; and for whom many voices were raising the wail of lamentation over a lost benefactor; that wail which, proclaiming the worth of the blessing that is gone, though it may be at last balm for the mourner's wounded soul, at first deepens and aggravates the smart to intensity. Then he wept; wept though he knew that Lazarus was about to rise; though his prayer was heard and granted for the aid of Omnipotence; though he was advancing towards the spot where he should pronounce the wondrous command to the dead, "Come forth," and where the dead heard and obeyed that command, and "came forth."

'The other occasion sprung out of this. Lazarus had been raised; the fame of the miracle had gone abroad; the feast of the passover was close at hand; Jesus had fulfilled his personal ministry; there remained to the Jewish nation but the choice of his solemn acceptance as the Messiah, or his rejection; he avowed his pretensions to that character; he approached Jerusalem sitting upon an ass's colt, in the simple state of her ancient sovereigns; an immense multitude attended his progress; they descended the Mount of Olives; and there lay Jerusalem before them in all her extent, her beauty, and her pride; her white towers and palaces glittering in the sun; the city of God, with his peerless temple majestically rising above all other buildings, as if awaiting and looking for the coming of the Messenger of Jehovah's covenant, to give it a holier consecration, and kindle in its empty ark a brighter glory of the Lord; and then the popular enthusiasm burst forth like a torrent; and

palm-branches were snatched, and waved around, and strewn in the path of the lowly, but then triumphant prophet; and the acclamation resounded to all the hills of Zion, "Blessed be the king that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven, and glory in the highest!" And so rolled on that beautiful pageant; beautiful, but O how brief! — for the storm was up which should scatter it abroad; and the clouds were brooding that should wrap it in a pall of blackest darkness.

'He, around whose head these evanescent glories shone, was weeping.' — Vol. II. pp. 80 — 82.

We had marked other passages for quotation, but are obliged to desist. We hope soon again to meet our author in the work which he proposes as a sequel to the present, on 'the Apostles and their Preaching;' and trust that he will not pause in his labors until he has completed the plan which he has announced in his Preface, of a survey of 'the Holy Scriptures, their History, Morality, Poetry, and Philosophy.'

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. IV. — *Unitarianism vindicated against the Charge of Skeptical and Infidel Tendencies.*

MEN may take their religion on trust, or make it a matter of inquiry and rational conviction. Unitarians prefer and adopt the latter course; holding it to be their privilege and duty to do so, and essential to consistent Protestantism. With them it is not enough that the church has decided in favor of a particular doctrine; or that the doctrine belongs to the religion established by law; or that it was held by their ancestors, and is still held by the majority. On the infinitely important subject of religion, and with the Bible in their hands, they do not feel themselves at liberty to waive the right to read for themselves, and judge for themselves. One of the consequences of acting on this principle is, as might be expected, that they come to some conclusions differing materially from those commonly received; and also that they do not agree exactly with one another; nor the same man with himself at different times, for of course as he continues his inquiries he may receive more light. This circumstance, however, has

afforded occasion for one of the most common and serious objections urged against them. Their way of proceeding, it is said, has a tendency to unsettle men's minds, and introduce a general skepticism; and the whole system has been branded as the half-way house to infidelity.

We propose to take up this single charge, and give it a careful and thorough examination. After a few preliminary remarks on the nature of faith, and the history and present state of the particular question at issue, we shall be prepared to demonstrate, that there is nothing in Unitarianism itself, nor in its rejection of certain popular doctrines, nor in the general manner in which it has been, or is, defended and maintained, to warrant the suspicions and imputations just named.

It does not follow necessarily that a man believes a particular doctrine, merely because he thinks he does; for he may be mistaken in regard to this fact, as well as in regard to any other. To know whether we believe a particular doctrine, we must know, in the first place, what the doctrine is; in the second place, we must know what our own ideas on the subject really are; and in the third place, we must compare the doctrine and our own ideas together, and see whether they agree. Now we hazard nothing in saying, that many never think of going through this process; and those who undertake it, are liable to mistake at every step, and of course may be mistaken in the conclusion. The truth is, — and why should men try or affect not to see it? — most persons adopt the religious phraseology which happens to prevail where they are brought up; and as they do this in early childhood, they do it before they can be expected to use such phraseology understandingly, and a habit of using it vaguely and mechanically is formed and perpetuated. It is no sufficient evidence, therefore, that a man believes the popular doctrines in religion, merely because he uses the popular language; for he may use this language in a different or qualified sense, or, which is still more probable, he may use it in no determinate sense. As a general rule, indeed, we suspect that conversions to Unitarianism, especially when they take place among serious and devout people, do not imply any material change in their convictions, but only that they have ascertained what their real convictions are, and are not restrained by considerations either of interest or fear from avowing them.

Again, it does not follow necessarily, that a man believes a particular doctrine, merely because he wishes he did, and is willing to take it for granted. It may be for his interest to believe; he may be persuaded or frightened into the opinion that he ought to believe; he may honestly think that believing would make him a better man; but, after all, he cannot believe, until he is convinced. Faith is not a simple act of the will; nor can it be strengthened or weakened, or changed or in any way modified, by a simple act of the will. It is the involuntary yielding of the mind to a preponderance of evidence as it strikes us at the time. True, in some states of mind we are much more likely to believe, than in others; but it is because in different states of mind the same evidence strikes us differently, being viewed under different aspects; and not because the will, simply considered, has any control over our convictions. In all cases without exception, let our state of mind be what it may, belief is the involuntary assent of the understanding to a preponderance of evidence, as it strikes us at the time. It does depend on a man's will what professions he shall make, and what church he shall attend, and what party he shall connect himself with; and he may take every thing he hears for granted, if he pleases, and he may reason, and to a certain extent he may act on it, as if it were true;—but what has this to do with real belief? He may wish to believe; he may try to believe; he may say he believes; still, however, it is not belief, in any proper sense of that word, unless he is convinced. It resembles much more nearly what children call 'making believe.' For fashion's sake, for interest's sake, for peace' sake, perhaps for conscience' sake he may make believe; but this is the utmost he can do, until he is convinced.

Further; it is idle to think of believing a proposition, the terms of which we do not and cannot understand. A man may believe, perhaps, that a proposition, unintelligible to himself, is nevertheless true; but this is not believing the proposition itself, but only in the authority of the proposition. A man may believe, perhaps, that a truth is asserted in such a proposition; but this is not believing the truth asserted, but only that a truth is asserted. To believe a proposition is to believe what is asserted in the proposition; but, before we can believe what is asserted in the proposition, we must know what is asserted. If we do not know what is asserted in a prop-

osition, how do we know, how can we know, but that we believe exactly the contrary? A man's real belief on any subject is neither more nor less than his ideas on that subject. Set before him, then, an unintelligible proposition, and we should like to be informed, how he is to tell whether his ideas agree with it, or not; and on the supposition that they do not, we should like to be informed, how he is to proceed in order to make them agree. The mysteries of the New Testament are not unintelligible propositions, but secrets, hidden, it is true, from the foundation of the world until they were disclosed by Jesus Christ, and his apostles, but now that they are disclosed, as intelligible as any other truths. There are also mysteries in nature, mysteries as yet undisclosed; but these are not unintelligible propositions, nor propositions of any kind, but ultimate facts, beyond which, at present, we cannot go either in our reasonings or conceptions. What abuse of language, therefore, as well as confusion of ideas, is implied in thinking to believe ourselves, or to make others believe, unintelligible propositions under the name of mysteries, awful mysteries? And yet how much effect this cry of mystery, awful mystery, has had in inducing men to suppose that they believed, merely because they were afraid to inquire. After the advocates of error have been driven from every other position, they have always been able to turn round on their pursuers, and raise the cry of mystery, awful mystery; and the strongest minds have been daunted, and withdrawn their objections as presumptuous and irreverent, and acquiesced in absurdities and superstitions, which they had again and again refuted. In following back the history of our religion we are reminded, at almost every step, of the inscription on the forehead of the woman in the Apocalypse, who prefigured the abuses and corruptions in the church: "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth."

But the days of mystery and concealment are passing away; for men have learned from the Scriptures themselves to prove all things, and hold fast that only which is good. There are those who are alarmed at this; but the man who fears that inquiry will make him a skeptic, shows himself a skeptic already. All interferences to repress freedom of thought, all attempts to deter men from hearing and reading on both sides, all appeals to the fears and prejudices of the people to prevent a free and open discussion of novel opinions, originate

in that very skepticism, which they are vainly thought to preclude. It is the policy of men, whatever they may say to the contrary, who have no confidence in their own cause, and therefore dread, above all things, the inquisitive and searching spirit which is trying the systems and institutions of the world, as by fire. Some will contend, we are aware, that they have no objection to a free discussion of religious subjects, provided it is confined to the privileged and well educated classes; but the people, the common people must be kept at a distance, at all events, and not be suffered to break through and gaze. You cannot do it. The distinction of modern times does not consist so much in a greater advancement of knowledge, as in a greater diffusion of knowledge; and the consequence is, not that the few are less inclined to impose on the many than formerly, but that the many have become acquainted with their rights and powers, and will not permit it. If ignorance is the mother of devotion in the common people, you have committed a fatal error in allowing education to become general; but the light has gone forth, and you cannot recall it, and those who have learned to think for themselves on other subjects, will think for themselves on the subject of religion. It is a full century too late for timid expedients and half-way measures, and the discussion of all subjects literary and moral, political and religious, must be free, free as the air, and while free, safe, for in the world of mind, as of matter, it is repression only which produces violence.*

* The universal education of the poor, which no earthly power can prevent, although it may retard it, is loudly demanded by the united voices of the moralist and politician. But if the people are to be enlightened at all, it is unavailing and inconsistent to resort to half measures and timid expedients; to treat them at once as men and as children; to endow them with the power of thinking and at the same time to fetter its exercise; to make an appeal to their reason and yet to distrust its decisions; to give them the stomach of a lion, and feed them with the aliment of a lamb. The promoters of the universal education of the poor ought to be aware that they are setting in motion, or at least accelerating the action of an engine too powerful to be controlled at their pleasure, and likely to prove fatal to all those parts of their own systems, which rest not on the solid foundation of reality. They ought to know, that they are necessarily giving birth to a great deal of doubt and investigation; that they are undermining the power of prejudice, and the influence of mere authority and prescription; that they are creating an immense number of keen inquirers and orig-

We are now prepared to inquire whether there is any thing in Unitarianism itself to unsettle men's minds, and introduce a general skepticism.

The distinction between the Unitarian and the Trinitarian is not, that the former thinks himself supported by reason, and the latter by Scripture. Each thinks himself supported by Scripture, and the only difference in this connexion is, that the Unitarian thinks himself supported by reason too. Besides, it must be conceded, on all hands, that Christianity, as represented by Unitarians, is made to appear more reasonable and probable in itself, while nothing is done to detract in the smallest degree from its historical evidences. Open any popular work on the evidences, Paley's, for example, and you cannot turn to a single important argument, illustration, or allusion, which the Unitarian may not urge with just as much confidence in proof of Christianity, as he understands it, as the Trinitarian can in proof of Christianity, as he understands it. The question here is not, how strong this evidence is, or how much it will prove, or whether it will prove any thing; but we say, that it will prove as much for the Unitarian as it will for the Trinitarian. This, then, is a true statement of the case; Unitarian views are sustained by the same evidence and authority with the Trinitarian, and the only difference is, that Unitarian views are more reasonable and probable in themselves. Now we ask, whether a man is less likely to believe in Christianity merely because it is made to appear more reasonable and probable in itself, the evidence and authority for it remaining the same? Take any system or theory, and make it appear more reasonable and probable in itself, and can it be supposed for one moment that it will require more external evidence to convince men of its truth? or that the same external evidence will not produce in them an equal degree of conviction? We neither judge nor despise those who believe or profess to believe in apparent contradictions or incongruities; for they have a right to do so, and they ought to do so, if they think these apparent contradictions or incongruities part of divine revelation. But we are speaking of those

inal thinkers, whose intellectual force will be turned, in the first instance, upon subjects which are dearest to the heart, and of most importance to society.' *Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions.* pp. 150, 151.

who are honestly convinced, that these apparent contradictions or incongruities are not part of divine revelation, are not taught in the Bible. Taking this view of the subject, we can hardly look on a man as serious, who still persists in maintaining, that one's faith in Christianity is less likely to be hearty and entire, merely because it comes to him supported at the same time by Scripture, and reason, and conscience, and his best feelings, and all nature.

This is one of those questions, a fair, clear, and forcible statement of which makes all discussion superfluous. Besides, it is not enough considered, in this connexion, that the external evidences of Christianity are of a moral or historical nature, and do not therefore, and cannot amount to demonstration. So long as the intrinsic improbability of what is to be proved falls within a certain limit, these evidences are sufficient; but they cease to be sufficient as soon as the intrinsic improbability of what is to be proved is made to exceed this limit. The impartial and discriminating inquirer will take care, at every step, to weigh the external evidences of what is to be proved against its intrinsic improbability, and the balance, one way or the other, will be the measure of his faith, or of his skepticism. To make Christianity, therefore, appear more reasonable and probable in itself, has the same effect, so far as a rational conviction of its truth is concerned, as adding so much to its external evidences, and to make it appear less reasonable and probable in itself, has the same effect as detracting so much from its external evidences. It is folly, moreover, to shut our eyes on the fact, that in all educated and enlightened communities, the traditionary faith is gradually losing its hold on the public mind. Temporary alarms and excitements may do something to counteract this tendency; but that it exists, and is felt, is manifest in the feverish eagerness evinced of late by most even of the exclusive sects in altering their policy, and, in some respects, their doctrines and institutions, to accommodate themselves to it. Once the apparent inconsistencies and absurdities in the popular faith constituted no obstacle to its prevalence as matter of profession at least, if not of actual belief; but the time is coming, and in many places now is, when with men of intelligence and reflection the only question likely to arise is, whether they shall have a more rational religion, or none. Among every people there must be a certain correspondence and

harmony, if we may so express it, between the religion as publicly professed and taught, and their moral and intellectual progress in other respects, or a spirit of indifference or disgust will grow up in regard to it, a thousand times more fatal to every thing like a true and living faith, than speculative doubts. In proof of this we need but refer to the state of things in England during the Protectorate and the reign of Charles the Second, and in France for some time prior to the Revolution, and in some parts of Germany at the present moment. Unitarianism, therefore, nominally or virtually held, in a free and enlightened community like ours, instead of opening on us, as some would pretend, the floodgates of infidelity, presents under God, as we conceive, the only effectual barrier against its encroachments.

Admitting, however, that there is nothing in Unitarianism itself to induce skepticism, the question arises whether it does not omit or reject certain principles or doctrines, which lie at the foundation of an unshaken trust in revelation.

In the first place, Unitarians entertain different views from those which have prevailed in some sects respecting what is called 'the witness of the spirit.' Paul, writing to the Romans, says, 'Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The spirit itself,' or, as it ought to be rendered, this very spirit, 'beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.'* The meaning of the original may be rendered more fully and intelligibly thus: 'Ye have not again received the spirit of slaves, which is fear, but the spirit of adopted sons, by which we appeal to God, as our Father. This very spirit, if we are conscious of possessing it, bears witness with our spirit, affords us the necessary evidence, that we are the children of God.' The Scriptures neither here, nor in any other passage, countenance the presumption, that to be a Christian, and a believer in the truth, it is necessary for a man to be assured of the fact by some mysterious and preternatural intimation from above. At the same time, it is not wonderful, that persons acting under a belief that such an intimation was to be expected, especially if they are of an excitable and imaginative temperament, should often work themselves into

* Romans viii. 15, 16.

an impression that they have received it. Accordingly we find that Deists and Mahomedans, as well as Christians, and that Christians of different denominations, and of irreconcilable and contradictory views, have supposed themselves to receive mysterious and preternatural intimations from God, sometimes externally and sometimes internally, each one of the correctness of his own peculiar sentiments, and of the safety of his own condition. Nay, the same individual will sometimes alter his religious opinions and practices three or four times in the course of his life, and yet declare and honestly believe, after each change, that he has had mysterious and preternatural assurances that he is infallibly right at last. Shall we say, then, that all these pretences to infallibility and divine illumination are well founded? Certainly not; for this would be to make God expressly confirm and sanction all manner of contradictions. Besides, if we go over to the Quaker, because he is confident that he is right from divine intimations, as he regards them, then also, and for the same reason, to be consistent, we must go over to the Methodist, and the high Calvinist, and the Swedenborgian, each of whom is not a whit less confident than the Quaker, that he too is right, from divine intimations, as he regards them. The argument, by proving too much, proves nothing.

Still it may be argued that these supposed divine intimations, however they may be regarded by others, must exclude all doubt from those who are conscious of them. Conscious of what? They are conscious, doubtless, of certain internal impressions, emotions, or suggestions; and of the fact of these internal impressions, emotions, or suggestions, consciousness is, we admit, an infallible witness. But that these internal impressions, emotions, or suggestions are from God is not a matter of consciousness, but of inference, and perhaps, as they must know, of mistaken inference. If, therefore, while relying on supposed divine intimations, I see my neighbours, by trusting to the same kind of evidence, led into conclusions the very opposite to mine, must I not, if I am a man of discernment and reflection, begin to suspect the evidence itself? If I see multitudes around me, whose honesty and sincerity I cannot question, misled by a confidence in supposed divine intimations, may I not, must I not, begin to suspect that I also may be misled in the same way? I cannot doubt, it is true, the reality of those impressions, emotions, or sugges-

tions, of which I am conscious; but I can alter my mind respecting their nature and origin. Impressions, emotions, or suggestions, which I used to regard as mysterious and preternatural intimations from above, I may find can be explained on a different hypothesis, and more satisfactorily. It is not true, therefore, that a consciousness of supposed divine intimations and assurances will exclude doubt; for this consciousness must always be accompanied by another, that in regard to the first we may be self-deceived. The very same reasons and arguments, which, as we have shown, should lead a man who makes no pretensions to mysterious and preternatural intimations, to suspect those who do, should also lead those who do to suspect themselves. Hence it appears that Unitarians lose nothing on the score either of evidence, or argument, or confidence, by rejecting as unscriptural and illusory the popular doctrine of the witness of the spirit.

Again; it may be alleged that Unitarians throw every thing into uncertainty by the peculiar views which they hold and inculcate respecting inspiration. Unitarians believe in the divine origin of the Christian religion, and in its supernatural and miraculous origin. They believe that our Lord and the apostles were inspired, — supernaturally, miraculously inspired. Accordingly they conclude, and cannot but conclude, that the writers of the New Testament, possessing such means of information, must have carried in their minds at all times, in all places, and to the end of life, a complete and infallible knowledge of the doctrine of Christ. They make a distinction, however, between being inspired and being omniscient, holding that the inspiration of the most favored of these writers extended only to what is essential to the Christian doctrine. Their inspiration began and ended in a supernatural communication to their minds of a clear, abiding, and infallible perception of the vital and essential principles of the new dispensation. These they were afterwards left to state, illustrate, and recommend, as they were able, in their own language, and by their natural faculties. Unitarians do not think it necessary to maintain, nor safe to attempt to maintain, that the sacred writers were inspired as natural philosophers, metaphysicians, or critics, nor even as logicians, chronologers, or historians. They distinguish, moreover, between the Christian revelation, which existed, and had been extensively diffused many years before a line of the Christian Scriptures was written,

and these Scriptures themselves, which are but a record of the revelation. And here we cannot but express our surprise and regret at the ignorance, or want of candor, or profligacy of those, who take every opportunity to affirm or insinuate that Unitarians do not believe in inspiration, or in the Bible as containing the Christian revelation, or that their views on these and the kindred subjects are essentially novel or peculiar. They are substantially the same views with those held by Grotius and Le Clerc, by Paley and the liberal divines generally of the Church of England, and by almost the entire body of German theologians at the present day, the professed Rationalists excepted. 'Had the Deity,' says Michaelis, 'inspired not a single book of the New Testament, but left the apostles and evangelists without any other aid than that of natural abilities to commit what they knew to writing, admitting their works to be authentic, and possessed of a sufficient degree of credibility, the Christian religion would still remain the true one.'* Upon which Bishop Marsh remarks, 'Here our author makes a distinction, which is at present very generally received, between the divine origin of the Christian doctrine, and the divine origin of the writings in which that doctrine is recorded.'†

It is remarkable, that the views of inspiration entertained by Unitarians, in common, it is believed, with the majority of enlightened Protestants, and which have exposed them in some quarters to the suspicion of skepticism, have been insisted on for the sole purpose of meeting the objections of infidels. They are under no necessity, and they feel no disposition, in their controversies with other Christians, to avail themselves of any latitude of interpretation, which these views of inspiration might be supposed to warrant, in ascertaining what is to be received as the simple, unadulterated truth. In their controversies with Trinitarians and Calvinists, for example, even if it were assumed, on both sides, that every word and letter, nay the very punctuation, of canonical and genuine Scripture were inspired, it would not in their minds vary the result. But on subjects not connected with the Christian doctrine, or merely collateral and unessential, discrepancies and contradictions occur in the sacred writings which never have been reconciled by a fair and legitimate construc-

* Marsh's *Michaelis*, Vol. 1. p. 72.

† *Ib.* p. 379.

tion, and never can be. It is necessary, therefore, either to adopt views of inspiration which are consistent with such discrepancies and contradictions, or give up inspiration altogether. Some persons appear to think and reason as if by embracing the extreme doctrine of a plenary inspiration, something is gained to the argument for the truth of Christianity. A moment's reflection, however, must be sufficient, it would seem, to convince every one, that its effect, on the contrary, must be merely to embarrass that argument, and, in our opinion, fatally. After taking this ground it is not sufficient, as with us, to establish the general truth and authority of the Scriptures; but even the minutest inaccuracy in history or philosophy to be found in them will be fastened on by the skeptic and the infidel, and becomes an insuperable objection. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible, that those who can believe in the Bible, holding at the same time the extreme doctrine of a plenary inspiration, would believe in it with infinitely less misgiving, if they felt themselves at liberty to adopt the modified form of that doctrine as held by Unitarians, and rational Christians generally. Waiving, as we purposely do in this place, the question of the correctness of Unitarian views of inspiration, and their accordance with Scripture, and considering them merely in their connexion with the evidences of Christianity, and in their bearing on faith, it is obvious, that, instead of promoting, they must have a tendency to prevent or arrest a spirit of skepticism in those who hold them, and in the community.

There is, then, nothing peculiar to Unitarianism, either in what it admits or in what it rejects, which can be justly suspected of skeptical or infidel tendencies. We shall next inquire, as proposed, whether the whole system has become justly liable to a suspicion of this nature from the manner in which it is arrived at, or in which it has been, and is, defended and maintained.

Exceptions have been taken to the extent to which Unitarians have carried their rejection of human authority, as such, in matters of faith and conscience. The radical mistake committed by those who are for ever hovering round this objection, consists in supposing that authority can exclude doubt; after doubts have arisen respecting the authority. The freedom, and in some instances the licentiousness of thought which has shown itself in modern times, has not had its ori-

gia, as some seem to imagine, in policy, or in an experiment, or in a particular inculcation, but has grown necessarily out of the progress of society and the human mind. It is idle to expect that the people, if allowed and encouraged to inquire freely on all other subjects, will long permit themselves to be hoodwinked and bound on the subject of religion. Accustomed to ask a reason for every thing else, they will ask a reason for the authority which any man, or any body of men may arrogate in matters of faith; and in this way doubts will arise respecting the authority itself, and these doubts will extend themselves, of course, to every thing resting on this authority. They may still, it is true, profess an outward respect for the authority in question, and agree to appeal to it as of final jurisdiction in order to have some means of settling or preventing controversies; but their faith is gone. It is remarkable that in the church which makes the greatest pretensions to authority, and on the whole with the best show of reason, and in countries, too, where this authority has been enforced with every advantage to be derived either from government or public opinion, skepticism and infidelity have made the most alarming inroads. Among Protestants, too, the utter inefficacy of mere authority to foreclose skeptical and infidel tendencies is manifest in the case of German anti-supernaturalism, which has arisen and grown up under an outward respect and conformity to the most orthodox creeds and establishments. All that authority can do in matters of faith, is to introduce the old distinction between esoterics and exoterics, to make it necessary for men to think with the wise and talk with the vulgar; a state of things much more likely, especially in a country like ours, to root out every vestige of a sincere and honest belief, than the most reckless spirit of innovation.

Besides, much of the skepticism which is sometimes referred to the public and free discussion of religious subjects, does not originate in these discussions, but is only brought to light by them. There is a latent and passive skepticism much more widely diffused in the community than is generally supposed, which, in our judgment, is to the full as culpable in itself, and as injurious in its moral influences, as an open and active skepticism, and much more difficult to cure. We should not regard it as an evil, therefore, even if it could be proved that the discussions provoked by Unitarianism have made

some men sensible to their doubts, and disposed in some instances to avow and defend them; for it is not until their skepticism has put on this form, that it can be fairly met either by themselves or others. If we must have an active or a passive skepticism, give us the first. An active skepticism will often cure itself, work itself clear of its difficulties; but there is no hope whatever of a man who will neither believe nor inquire. An active skepticism, moreover, does not imply an indifference to truth, nor prevent men from discriminating; so that while it leads them to deny this thing, and doubt that, it leaves their confidence in other things unimpaired, and perhaps strengthened and quickened. But it is of the nature of a latent and passive skepticism, by confounding the true with the false, and the certain with the doubtful, to spread itself gradually over the whole subject, involving natural as well as revealed religion in the same doubt, and causing them to be regarded with a like indifference, if not contempt. Under the influence of this spirit the best that men can be expected to do, is to settle down at last into the conceited and supercilious conclusion, that Christianity, whether true or not, is a good thing for society, and especially for the lower classes, and must not be disturbed. We know of nothing more likely to move an ingenuous mind to indignation, than to see one who from indolence or indifference is secretly skeptical as to all religion, joining, however, in the vulgar cry of heresy or infidelity against those who will not assent to what they do not believe. We can bear with the opposition, and even with the personal abuse of the bigot and the fanatic, for they are honest, or at least consistent; but we find it more difficult to command our feelings, when worldly, intriguing, hollow-hearted men array themselves against reform, and affect a concern for prejudices and antiquated errors, which in their hearts they despise.

Again, it has been said, that in most communities, to arrive at Unitarianism, men must give up many of the doctrines in which they were educated, and that the giving up of each of these doctrines must weaken their confidence in those which they retain. It is obvious, in the first place, that this objection does not apply to Unitarianism in any other sense than it does to every reformation, and particularly to the Protestant reformation. Besides, it proceeds in this case on a forgetfulness of the important circumstances insisted on above, that

the doctrines discarded by Unitarians were a dead weight on the whole system, and of course that the system, thus relieved, must meet with a more ready and entire assent. We are willing, nevertheless, to admit that men's confidence in simple and pure Christianity must be most perfect in those cases, in which in order to arrive at it they are not obliged to reject any human additions or corruptions with which it has been connected. From this, however, our only inference is, not that men should not be instructed in Unitarianism, but that they should never be instructed in any thing else. If a certain degree of skepticism always adheres to a mind which is conscious of having been once imposed upon and abused, the whole blame of the skepticism should certainly be thrown back on the imposition and abuse, in which it originated. If innovation in itself considered be an evil, especially in religion, the evil should be referred not to Unitarianism, but to the false views in which the people have been educated, and which in the general advancement of knowledge make innovation unavoidable. So far, too, as the charge of having actually innovated on the faith of our ancestors is concerned, it is obvious that the Orthodox of the present day, in New England certainly, are in the same condemnation. If any say, that they have not given up doctrines which they themselves deem essential and fundamental, it should be recollected that we also can say as much; for neither have we given up doctrines, which we ourselves deem essential and fundamental. If they say, on the other hand, that they have not given up doctrines deemed essential and fundamental by the first reformers, the Puritans, and their own immediate ancestors, they say what is not true. By rejecting, as they have done almost unanimously, the doctrines of imputation and particular election, for example, they have already innovated as essentially on the traditionary faith, as they would do if they were to go further, and reject the doctrine of the trinity itself.

We prefer, however, to meet this charge of innovation on its own merits. Why should it be thought necessary to defend ourselves against the imputation or suspicion of skeptical or infidel tendencies, merely because we have departed from some of the doctrines held by the first reformers? The progress of society and the human mind did not stop with their labors. On the contrary, there has never been a pe-

riod in the history of man, during which this progress has been so rapid and perceptible as during the last three centuries. We see it in every thing ; — in the disappearance of a thousand weak and debasing superstitions ; in the repeal of many useless, oppressive, and sanguinary laws ; in the great improvements which have obtained in education ; in the prevalence of a more liberal spirit on all subjects, and in the resistance felt and manifested against every form of usurpation and tyranny. Nor does this progress appear in any thing more than in those sciences necessary to the critical understanding of the Scriptures, and the effectual exposure of the pretences of false religions. Now, are we to believe, can it be imagined, that society and the human mind have been advancing for three long centuries, with unparalleled rapidity, in every thing else but religion, and even in the means of advancement in religion, and yet that in religion itself they have not advanced a single step ? Possessing the same natural powers with the first reformers, and all the advantages which they had, and many more besides, — entering, as it were, on their labors, and beginning where they left off, is it to be believed, can it be imagined, that the pious, the learned, and the inquisitive, for three long centuries, have not been able to go forward a single step ? The Protestant reformation grew out of the progress of society and the human mind, and this progress has been continually going on. Assign, then, if you can, a single earthly reason possessing even the poor merit of being merely plausible, why this reformation should not go on with its cause. The first reformers were but men, and acted as other men would have acted in the same circumstances. Is it probable then we would ask, — nay, is it possible, that mere men, uninspired men, who had but just broken away from the most degrading prejudices and superstitions, and who still thought, reasoned, and acted under circumstances the most unfavorable of all to cool and impartial deliberation, — is it possible, that such men, in the hurry and passion of a great moral revolution, could strike out at a single blow a difficult and complicated system, which in all after time would neither require revision, nor admit of correction ?

At the same time, we would not be understood to speak disparagingly of the claims which the first reformers have on our respect and gratitude. They certainly possessed many noble qualities, and we would honor these qualities ; nay more, we

would imitate them. Yes, who are the men that imitate the first reformers? — that strength and independence of mind, by which they broke from the prejudice of education; that noble daring, or rather that strict adherence to principle, with which they hesitated not to avow the convictions they felt, though new and unpopular doctrines; and the firmness with which they stood their ground against the voice of numbers, and the cry of schism, innovation, heresy. Yes, we repeat it, who are the men that imitate the first reformers? It is bringing strange names into fellowship, but it is nevertheless true that Priestley was the Luther of his times.*

Still the alarm will be rung in our ears, You have begun to innovate on the popular faith, and you will never know where to stop. To all Protestants, and indeed to most Catholics of the present day, it would be sufficient to reply, You also have begun to innovate on the popular faith, and will not know where to stop, any better than we. But we choose to put our

* ‘ You say the petitioners are innovators. They deny this, and say they are antiquarians, only not superstitious enough to prefer the rust to the medal. But without availing themselves of this, they prove that the love of novelty is natural, that it puts men on inventing some things, and improving others; that new discoveries by the people call for new limitations, protections, laws from the state; that the yearly assembling of the states is an allowance of the necessity of abrogating some laws, reforming others, and making new ones. That therefore innovation is neither foreign from the nature of things in general, nor from the British constitution in particular; and they might add that almost all the great men, that have appeared in the world have owed their reputation to their skill in innovating. Their names, their busts, their books, their elogiums, diffused through all countries, are a just reward for their innovations. When idolatry had overspread the world Moses was the minister of a grand and noble innovation. When time had corrupted the institutions of Moses, Hezekiah innovated again, destroying what even Moses had set up; and when the reformations of others were inadequate, Jesus Christ, ascending his throne created all things new: twelve innovators went one way, seventy another, their sound went into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world, reforming and renovating the whole face of the earth. When wealth had produced power, power subjection, subjection indolence, indolence ignorance, and the pure religion of Jesus was debased, here rises an Alfred, there a Charles; Turin produces a Claude, Lyons a Waldo, England a Wickliff; the courage of Luther, the zeal of Calvin, the eloquence of Beza, the patience of Cranmer, all conspire to innovate again. Illustrious innovators! You pleaded for conscience against customs; your names will be transmitted to all posterity with deserved renown. *Robinson's Arcana, Miscellaneous Works.* Vol. 11, pp. 84, 85.

vindication on higher ground. Our prayer to God is, that we may never stop. We admire the declaration introduced by the Polish Unitarians into the preface to their Catechism; 'We do not think we ought to be ashamed if in some respects our church improves.' We believe with Robinson, that 'God has more light yet to break forth out of his holy word'; and besides, it is often a long time after the discovery of an important truth, before some of its most important applications are understood. We have too much confidence in Providence and in human nature to sympathize with those who

grow pale

Lest their own judgments should become too bright,
And their free thoughts be crimes, and earth have too much light.
A spirit is abroad, as we have said, free, bold, uncompromising and terrible as an army with banners, which is trying the opinions and institutions of the world, as by fire. It is the duty of the wise and good to endeavour to guide this spirit, to restrain its excesses, and above all to imbue it with a sincere and earnest love of truth, humanity, and God. But we fear not the issue. We believe that every accession of new light and intelligence will be found to illustrate and enforce the evidences of the Christian revelation, and give mankind a deeper and more living sense of its truth and reality.

ART. V. — *A Liturgy for the Use of the Church at King's Chapel in Boston; collected principally from the Book of Common Prayer. Third Edition, with Alterations and Additions. Boston, 1828. 8vo. pp. 368.*

THE congregation worshipping at King's Chapel is taking the only course with regard to its Liturgy, which can make a Liturgy tolerable; the course, that is, of revision and improvement. The addition of new prayers in the present edition, we think, a special and most necessary improvement. Let a prayer-book contain a sufficient variety of devotional forms and expressions to meet all the general situations in life and the general states of mind, and especially that constitution of the mind by which variety, to a certain extent, is useful; and we have, for our own part, no violent ob-

jection to a Liturgy, and can conceive of some very good arguments in favor of it. We had rather not be tied to it. There would be times when we should wish to pour out our hearts, without the restraint of any lessons or forms. But there would also be times of less freedom, or times of weariness and exhaustion, when we should be glad to lean on forms and to frame our thoughts in the holy words of others,—times in short, when we should have power to be devout, rather than to originate devotion.

The object which we have in view in this article is connected in some points with the subject of ritual religion, and we have therefore placed at the head of it the Liturgy of King's Chapel. Our object is, to recommend more frequent and formal avowals of religious experience than are common among us; and with a view to urge upon the attention of our readers some of the proper modes of such avowal, we wish to lay before them two general considerations. One is, the importance of fixtures and landmarks in the religious course; and the other is the influence upon every man of an assumed character.

These points obviously bear upon ritual observances; and we are the more willing to discuss them, because we believe that the tendency of the present times is too much to the neglect of such observances. If forms have had too much, far too much importance assigned to them in past times, this very circumstance might justly awaken our solicitude about the reaction of opinion in our own times. The Christian rites are falling into a disuse in this country, altogether unprecedented in Christendom.* The tendencies of so singular a state of things certainly deserve to be very seriously considered. This is not a country, most assuredly, which can forego any useful means of moral discipline and restraint. And he who lightly casts aside such means, or lightly talks of his liberty to do so, may be lightly doing or saying that, which is to have an inconceivable influence upon the welfare of future generations.

Now it appears to us, that in the way of life and in the

* This tendency of opinion in our country is seen even in the Society of Friends, the leading anti-formalist party in the Christian world. The peculiarities of dress in that Society, which there is a growing inclination to lay aside, were as truly a form and a profession, as the Communion is among other sects.

way of generations, there should be distinct and formal recognitions of the religious principle; and this is what we mean by fixtures and landmarks in the religious course. Every child, we are disposed to say,—every youth, every man, every people should be brought, at certain times and seasons, to the regular, stated, and solemn acknowledgment and cultivation of religion, as the great source of their happiness, and the great end of their being. If religion be such, and if, at the same time, it is not, any more than knowledge, spontaneous in its growth, why should it not be so cultivated? Why should not moral culture be carried on by processes just as exact and as well defined, as intellectual culture? Admit that there is a principle or power of religion in the mind, as there is a principle or power of intelligence. The most liberal philosopher and legislator for the mind would not, probably, demand any more. But the principle of intelligence is sent to school. It has lessons and tasks appointed for it. They should, indeed, be as carefully as possible adapted to the mind, and should possess as little as possible the character of *mere* tasks, and there may be, after all, a great deal of imperfection about them. Still no one hesitates to introduce them into the course of education. There are, also, regular gradations in the mental course, and distinct periods of instruction, and probation, and profession. Why should not a similar course be pursued with the religious principle? Why so much dread or dislike, as some entertain, of catechisms and confirmations, and of the communion service? If knowledge is an object of rational pursuit and acquisition, so is religion. If the one is difficult to acquire, so is the other. But, should we think it safe to let the principle of intelligence take its chance for improvement in the world, without appointing for it any steps, or processes; or plans? Why, then, should we think this of the religious principle?

We have been careful, let it be observed, to speak of the general principle of intelligence in this comparison. There are specific and technical acquisitions of knowledge which to a certain extent distinguish it from religion. But if the object were to educate bare intelligence; if it were to train, for instance, the power of reasoning, to its greatest strength and perfection, it is obvious that plans and processes would be arranged for so doing. The pupil would not be left to

slide along, as he might, into the perfection of this great faculty. The teacher, the parent, would not be content with saying, 'that he wished his child to be intelligent; that he intended now and then, on proper occasions, to remind him of the importance of possessing this character; that intelligence, like the sunshine, ought to be every where, and that there is danger of locating and confining it, or that it is a free principle, and that there is danger of enslaving or biasing it.' No; 'the vision and faculty divine,'—divine though it be,—he would train; he would guard; he would educate. And the question is, Why shall he not do the same thing with the religious nature?

But we must urge something farther with regard to the case just stated. This gliding along in the moral course without any definite purpose, without any distinct landmarks, realizes to our view one of the most alarming representations of spiritual negligence. It is thus that childhood glides into youth, and youth into manhood, and manhood into declining years, and the man sinks to moral perdition, because he was never led at any one point to inquire whither he was going; because no stated hour of meditation and prayer, no season of self-examination, no appointed and solemn recognition of religion, ever called him to consider what he was, or for what he was preparing. The parent, with this vague feeling about religion, has no definite plan for the religious instruction of his child; unless it be a plan to exclude every thing definite. No lessons must be set for him; no evening prayers must rise by his couch of rest; nor is the place of these supplied by frequent and earnest conversation with the child, on the great themes of piety. What, now, is, and must be, the result? Childhood steals away, with its bright dream, and with no more distinct track. As it knows nothing but what it is taught, and is taught no religion, no impressions on this momentous theme mark the footsteps of early years. Youth comes, but is signalized by no memorials of piety. If some religious impressions are felt, in entering upon the threshold of life, and this is not uncommon at that interesting period, yet nothing is done to fix or confirm these impressions; the mind is not led to habitual, daily prayer, or to that solemn profession of religious purposes which is so becoming and beautiful, as an inaugural act, a consecration to the great duties of a moral existence. With no moral fixtures, with no

distinct mementos, with no holy pledges, this early susceptibility of religious impression yields to the power of active employments; there is no landmark or barrier lifted up amidst the tide of business or pleasure; and negligent youth sinks almost unconsciously into worldly manhood. And thus life passes on, and passes away; and comes to its close, perhaps, with the astounding conviction, that little or nothing has been distinctly done or even determined, with regard to the great end for which life was given.

Would it not, probably, have been otherwise, if religious impressions had had their due importance and prominence distinctly and openly assigned to them; if there had been visible memorials of the religious life to mark its progress; if the traveller in his moral pilgrimage had, from time to time, set up altars, and worshipped the God of life? We cannot possibly doubt, that stated meditations and solemn pledges, justly regarded, would be of great moral service; that the gathering up of religious purposes, in daily prayer, or in the communion season, would help, and strengthen, and further many, who are now faltering in the right way, or forgetting what that way is.

Let it not be thought that we would set any usages in competition with the importance of individual conviction. The question is, How is individual conviction most likely to be awakened, and how can it best be sustained? It is undoubtedly a delicate question. There should not be too much form nor too little, if we can find the medium. But our conviction is, that the public mind is leaning to a neglect of forms which is inexpedient and dangerous.

The forms of religion are forms of avowal; and this, as we have stated, it is our object to urge. With reference to this object, let us now dwell for a moment on the other general consideration; namely, the influence upon every man of an assumed character.

Men are commonly treated with decided reference to the character in which they choose to pass in the world. It is usually thought the part of politeness to do so. The employments or the amusements which their friends devise to occupy or to entertain them will be influenced, in general, by this consideration of their taste and habits. Especially will this be true of the conversation addressed to them. If the topics of a man's discourse are always worldly or trifling; if

he never says any thing on religion; if he rather avoids the subject; if it is difficult to draw him into any free and hearty discussion of it; if, so far from professing religion, he rather professes, by his manner, and perhaps by his words, to be out of his proper sphere when speaking of it; he will, in almost all cases, be treated accordingly. And although he may feel a strong interest in the subject at times, he must expect to forego the advantages of frequent and friendly intercourse upon it. It is indeed a serious loss. How many friendly interviews are there, and especially with the young, in which all free and kind interchange of thought on this holy and heart-awakening theme are avoided, from certain foolish, almost unaccountable, and chilling reserves that prevail with regard to it!

But if a man is treated by others, as he chooses to be considered, it is still more important to observe, that his own treatment of himself is in a great measure governed by the same rule. There is scarcely any thing from which a man more habitually *acts*, than from reference to this assumed character. If any one would be thought to possess courage, he almost insensibly puts on the manner indicative of that quality, and strives, almost without knowing it, to possess the quality itself. Or, if he is ambitious, if he would be thought to be distinguished for talents, or wealth, or influence, his manners insensibly take that tone; and they tend directly and strongly to form the very character which he assumes.

This influence of an assumed character is indeed of immense importance, *because* it acts with such a certain and almost blind fidelity; because it accompanies a man, like a kind of presence, an unsought, but ever admonishing presence, which constantly says to him, 'Is this proper for you? is this suitable for such as you profess to be? is this *in* character?'

Now to bring this principle in aid of religious culture, avowal is necessary. It is necessary that we should say, either in direct terms, or by the frequent tenor of our conversation, or else, by some more formal profession,—by some of these means or by all of them, it is necessary to say, that we hold religion to be a serious and important concern; that we purpose to make it an end; that we do not intend to consign it to the care of others, but to make it our own care. Nothing therefore, as it seems to us, can be of greater moral disser-

vice to a man, than to be habitually saying, that 'he is not a religious man; that every body knows he is not a religious man; that he does not profess any thing of that sort.' And absolute silence, or absolute reserve may say this, as effectually as any set declaration. And certainly, nothing can be of worse consequence, for this reason among others, that no man will rise above the measure of his deliberate intentions. If any man assumes for himself this negative character in religion, what has he to do, but to conform to it, and to follow it out? What more likely than that he will for ever *be* the negligent man that he chooses to be thought? What more fatal though unworthy apology for his negligence than that he never pretends to any interest about these matters.

Such is this influence of a professed or adopted character, that rectitude itself is oftentimes not so strong a bond as consistency. How commonly will a man give up an argument, when his consistency is appealed to, without any attempt to plead the right or to question the wrong upon the absolute truth of the case. 'You have often said thus and thus,' or, 'you have always done this or that,' is final and decisive with most persons, though the matter in question be utterly indefensible by any better reason.

Now it is a dictate of wisdom, which we would urge, to bring this sense of the demands of consistency, this influence of a professed character, into the service of religion. Let any one who has come to feel the claims of this great subject upon him, who is conscious of his weakness at the same time, who feels the need of every lawful bond that will hold him to his duty, let him give pledges, in his conversation, and in more express and formal acts, of his interest in religion and of his purposed adherence to its ways. Dwelling amidst a negligent generation, liable to fall by easy acquiescence into evil or worldly courses, let him openly and nobly say with Joshua, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'

We will now proceed to consider, as we proposed, some of the proper methods of this avowal.

It is a mistake, as we regard it, to confine the idea of professing religion to a single act,—the observance of the rite of the Lord's Supper. This is not the only form of avowal; and we intend to discuss others. But it is one form, and, indeed, it is the only public form of avowal; and as such demands attention.

It may not be improper here to refer to what has been formerly said in the *Christian Examiner* on the subject of the communion; since the essays referred to, not only contain nothing inconsistent with what we shall now advance, but are rather fitted, so far as they go, to aid our present purpose. It was maintained in the first place, that this ordinance is no holier, and intrinsically no more solemn, than other rites of Christianity, — no more strict or sacred, than other modes of attention to divine truth, than other forms of devotion, than other modes of communing with religion. It was contended, in the second place, that there is no mark of exclusion designed to be set upon this ordinance, that no minister nor church is authorized to step between any man and his conscience in this matter, that the table of the communion is spread for all Christians, as freely as the gates of the sanctuary are opened to them. And in the third place, an attempt was made to assign this form of religious meditation and worship its proper rank among the means of grace. The conviction was expressed that it does not, and did not originally, hold that first place, which is now commonly conceded to it, among the methods of religious influence. This opinion was supported by the Apostolic judgment, that the world is to be saved, not by the communion, but by preaching; 'by the foolishness of preaching,' as it is modestly termed.

With these views of this ancient Christian ordinance, we have not been, of course, nor are we now, able to urge it as of the first importance. We have not been, nor are we now, able to urge it, as, among visible indications, the great dividing line between salvation and perdition. But it still holds a very prominent place as an avowal of religious affections and purposes, and in this light it deserves to be very seriously considered by all who would promote the cause of religion in themselves or others.

We see the world hurrying on, in the eager and almost exclusive pursuit of palpable and perishing objects. We see it forgetful to an extent that pains, and sometimes alarms us with fears for the very existence of religion, — forgetful, we say, of God and of eternity. What is all this coming to? Whither is this flood of cares and pleasures and vanities driving men? Where shall religion find some secure refuge, — some ark of safety? These are the agitating questions. Now, if we know that there are some who deeply feel the value of

this great interest, it is natural certainly to ask, whether they might not do something by uniting and expressing, even in a formal manner, their sense of its value.

Let us refer, for our guidance, to some kindred examples. Let us suppose that we lived in a community where the grossest dishonesty was prevalent, where the most enormous frauds were daily, openly, and boldly committed. Suppose that we felt the want of some equally open, and, at the same time, combined and concentrated testimony against them. Would it be an unnatural thing for us to join with others in publicly disclaiming such practices, and in avowing openly our purpose at every risk to abstain from them? Suppose, again, that our country were suffering under the oppressions of an arbitrary government, and that a patriotic band were formed to work out its deliverance. Would it not seem very proper that they should commence that enterprise with a solemn declaration of their intentions, and with mutual pledges of fidelity to the cause? We do not desire to stretch these comparisons to an unreasonable extent. But we do conceive that the irreligion of the world is so great, as to make it desirable that some express and solemn and formal testimony should be lifted up against it. We do conceive, that the cause of human nature, the cause not of earthly, but of divine freedom, is borne down with such a tremendous power of prevailing hostility and evil example, that some visible stand should be taken for it,—that there should be somewhere a rallying point for what is good against what is evil.

We do not say that the ordinance of the Lord's Supper is a rallying point for all the good there is in the world. We know that many virtuous and pious men have difficulties of various kinds with regard to it. But we think it might be made the ground of a solemn pledge to religion, and of a sacred union in its cause.

Must it needs be thought that there would be more zeal than modesty, in taking this ground? We are persuaded, there might be both; and both in a form, which could offend no reasonable, and at the same time religious mind. A man might say on this subject,—and would it not be the language of sobriety and humility? would it not be a language that ought to command universal respect?—he might say, 'I am conscious that I am not decidedly enough what I ought to be; I am impressed with the transcendent value and happiness of

a religious life. It is the life above all others that I would lead. But I have reason to fear that I shall waver from the strict virtue, sobriety, and godliness which are my chief interest; and I am willing to come under any pledges that will help to secure me. It is not pride, I trust, but humility, that brings me to lay my hand on the altar of God, and to pay my vows to him. 'Why should I hesitate,' might he continue to say, 'why should I hesitate for any slight or ordinary causes, from any over-refined delicacy, from any sensitiveness to the world's opinion or to the world's estimate of the act, about giving this weighty testimony? Why should I hesitate?' might he repeat. 'Earth, with all its vanities, is soon to pass away. Heaven and eternity will soon be all to me. I have thoughts within me, that visit that eternity, and make me feel unutterably how poor are the objects that the great world is seeking after. I have thoughts within me, that visit that eternity; and I would erect some altars to them, on this shore of time. I care nothing so much for this passing world, as I care to leave these testimonies in it. The altar of communion is not the only altar of testimony, I know; but this is already builded, and I will lay my offering upon it. I will lay it there, with faith in that blood, which first sprinkled and consecrated it. Thousands there are to bring their offerings to every shrine of honor, wealth, and pleasure. Thousands there are, to pay homage to the great and powerful. Multitudes gather to the civic feast, in honor of the glorious dead. I would celebrate the memory of a being more glorious than any that ever has appeared on the earth. I would do this in remembrance of my Saviour, because it is a remembrance which is so commonly lost and left out of sight amidst worldly pretensions and vanities. I am the more willing to do this by an unusual action; I am willing to do that which may appear to our customs, strange and extraordinary, for the sake of giving a more marked testimony of my reverence for this great Being. It is a testimony, in which I have cause to glory, more than in all the honors of the world. I will not offer it in secret. I will not offer it merely in the secret truth and sincerity of my own heart. It is a good profession, and I will profess it before many witnesses.'

Be it so, that there are difficulties about this ordinance. We admit that there are many, which have accumulated upon us from times of early superstition, and times of later exclusiveness. The ordinance is generally shut up within the pale of

examinations and votes, and professions of faith, as, we think, it ought not to be. All this is of the later growth. But there is an old superstition about it, which creates still more difficulty. There is, in fact, a state of feeling about this rite, which goes far, it seems to us, towards disqualifying many persons from the useful observance of it. We are willing to say so much, not, in the issue, to discourage any, but to lead them, if our opinion may have any weight, to examine their own misgivings about the ordinance. Christian superstition seems to have its last strong-hold in the mysteries of the communion. We venture to doubt, if they will pardon the presumption, whether the body of any of our Christian congregations has yet advanced far enough to make the entirely simple, natural, and just use of it; whether the body of any of our congregations is prepared to approach this rite, with feelings as free and unembarrassed, as those of the primitive Christians.

If there were this preparation of mind, we should feel that most of the difficulties were removed, which now lie in our way to urging the observance; and we believe that most of the difficulties that hinder serious minds from approaching it, would be removed by the same means. And therefore, to obviate objections in this case, the proper course seems to be, to rectify misapprehensions. Let our people be induced, as the first thing, to take a calm and liberal view of this ceremony. What is it, and what is its purpose? It is nothing more than an emblematic representation of Jesus Christ in the most affecting era of his history, in the most sublime manifestation of his virtues, in that closing scene, which visibly consummated his great redeeming work. It is a 'showing forth' of that scene of agony and death, which was designed to save us from death,—from the death of the soul,—from the curse and woe and death of sin. And the purpose of this celebration on our part is nothing more than to express our reverence and affection for this great and glorious Benefactor, and to declare our intention of being governed by his spirit and religion. Is it not meet that we should feel such sentiments? And if they are felt by us, is it not meet that we should express them? If it were proposed to celebrate the virtues and services of any more ordinary benefactor,—to honor, for instance, the memory of Washington, in a feast, and thus to pledge ourselves to the cultivation of his lofty spirit

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and benefactors. And it was thus that the
culture drew its inspiration from the past.
own a similar history. The great men of the
past are still living in the hearts of the people,
and their lives are still a source of inspiration
to the young.

come to this ordinance ; — if all this be so, and so unavoidably, we are disposed to say that the rite of the Lord's Supper were better neglected, than abused in this manner. But we submit it to the reflection of our readers, whether this is necessary, and we desire no hasty answer. We ask whether there may not be a rational, just, and useful participation in an occasion so interesting on many accounts to all devout Christians? We ask them to consider, whether, if all among us, who feel an interest in religion, should come forward and thus publicly avow it, — whether, we say, it would not be attended with the happiest effects upon themselves, and upon society? If they think that it would be ; if they think that it would quicken and strengthen the sentiments of virtue and devotion among us ; if they think that so vast and transcendent an interest, — that chiefly for which life ought to be dear, — might be thus promoted, then we ask again, whether any slight difficulties, real or imaginary, shall prevent Christian men from giving the aid of their example and testimony to a cause, for which our blessed Saviour thought it not too much to give up his life?

We have said that this testimony is the only *public* recognition, which we can make of our religious obligations. It is the only public form of avowal, which our religious institutions provide for us ; and this consideration, it seems to us, even if we had objections to the mode, is one of great force. Attendance at church is not any express avowal of religious feeling. It does not amount, in fact, to a declaration of belief in Christianity. The only public, formal, and authorized expression, now understood as such, of belief in Christianity, and that connected with a serious purpose to obey its precepts, is to be found in the sacramental vows of the communion table. Is it not desirable that there should be such an expression, — public, formal, and unquestionable? Is it not proper and expedient that the great interest of life and of being should be thus openly and solemnly recognised, thus acknowledged in the presence of each other, thus avowed before heaven and earth? 'Heaven and earth shall pass away ;' and this great purpose and profession of the soul shall then stand, as the only thing sacred from the universal wreck ; the only thing intrinsically great, momentous, and sublime. If that stupendous consummation, foretold in prophecy, were about to break upon us now, would it not be

announced by solemn tokens? Would there not be harbingers in the sky to proclaim it? Could any tokens be too solemn for its annunciation? But here is that in the moral creation which shall triumph over all material changes, that great aim of life, that great design of being, whose goings forth are to eternity; and is it not proper that its adoption and progress should be signalized by tokens equally significant and striking? We will not submit to any worldly judgment in this matter; for that judgment will say that we talk all in figures, and it will feel as if we spoke only of useless forms, or of forms disproportionate to the importance of the subject. But let us suppose the transcendent power, and the all-engrossing importance of religion, to be felt among us, as they ought to be, — felt as if all things else were but the passing shadows of existence — and would form and avowal be thought such great matters as they now are, and possession and reality so small, in the comparison? For really the feelings of many go to this extent, that they think more anxiously of a profession of religion, than of the possession of it; that emblems are more serious things to them, than realities; that the sacramental service is more solemn to them, than the feelings which it is designed to express and confirm. Let religion be the great reality that it should be, possessing the whole soul with its unspeakable grandeur [and importance, and then forms, representations, avowals would fall into their proper place, — would assume their just character. They would be put on as an easy and appropriate costume, and not as the strange and awkward mummery of a masquerade habit, where the wearer is thinking more of his dress than of himself. They would be worn as a suitable and graceful garment, to clothe, to cheer, and strengthen, and not as rigid fetters, hindering every free and manly step of the mind.

Expressions, emblems, forms would then be natural, and not the artificial things which they now usually are. It is a weak and low state of spiritual feeling, or a narrow range of reflection; it is a spirit of bondage, and not of liberty, that makes them the artificial or the awful things which they now are to many. For we contest altogether the common idea, that a high degree of religious expansion and refinement of mind, naturally lead their possessor to entertain an inveterate dislike or dread of forms. He who can look upon the communion but as an awful, a fearful rite, seems to us, to be yet in

an early stage of Christian experience. The full liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and made us welcome, too, to this feast of remembrance, will enable us to partake of it, with a mind, as calm, as free, as natural, as that with which we approach any other religious duty. The truth is, that some who think themselves too far advanced for the use of forms, are not yet advanced far enough, are not yet liberal enough for the right use of them. They are as much in bondage to the dread of forms, as others have been in bondage to the admiration of them. They are as superstitious in the rejection, as others have been in the observance of them. The same superstitious feeling is experienced by the communicant, when he is possessed with a peculiar and almost painful dread, at the moment of partaking of the elements; as if it were the emblem, rather than the occasion, the eating or drinking, rather than the great avowal, that is solemn. This is a relic of the doctrine of the *real presence*.

But to return; we say that forms are natural to the mind. They are so in every thing besides religion, and there is no just reason why they should not be in that. What are forms indeed, but expressions of the mind within; and, in this respect, of the same nature with language. The marriage ceremony is essentially nothing else but the expression or declaration of a certain purpose. It is a formality in some respects, very trying to most minds, inasmuch as most minds naturally shrink from so public a declaration of some of their most interesting sentiments and purposes. But its utility vindicates it; so that he is generally considered as the most dangerous enemy of society, who would propose its abolition. We might cite many other instances, and derive an argument *a fortiori* for forms in religion. An entrance upon civil office is solemnized by forms, by oaths of inauguration. May not the entrance of the mind upon its great religious work be marked likewise by solemn and repeated professions of its intention and by vows of fidelity? The privilege of citizenship in our country cannot be obtained but by passing through certain forms of naturalization, by giving pledges of allegiance to the government. May not those, who would be 'no more strangers, but of the household of faith,' who would be citizens in the kingdom of Christ, may they not properly be called upon to make similar professions and give similar pledges? Nay, and a man will not enter upon extensive trav-

els without announcing his purpose, and giving many indications of his purpose. May not the traveller to eternity enter upon that course, which is to conduct him onward for ever, with similar declarations of his solemn purpose, and with tokens equally distinct and prominent of the stupendous undertaking he has set before him?

We have now stated the views which have impressed our own minds, not indeed with the supreme importance, but with the reasonableness and utility of that avowal of religious purposes, which is implied in an attendance upon the communion. We have not thought it necessary to take up any space in our pages with urging it as a prescribed duty. It has seemed to us, that it is too much regarded as a mere duty, as a thing necessary to be done, without any distinct conceptions of its propriety or advantage. We have therefore dwelt on these. We fear there are many, that actually partake of the communion, who would retire from it, if they did not feel that the bond of an express injunction is on them. It must indeed be difficult, as we think, for any man, with the New Testament in his hands, to free his conscience from that bond. But still it must be unfortunate, that it should be regarded as a *mere* injunction, binding for no intelligible reason, strengthened by no obvious ties of interest, or intrinsic fitness. A duty which is performed more as a mechanical than as a moral action, which is done, because it presses on the conscience as something that must be done, while there is no experience or hope of advantage or improvement, is scarcely the duty of a rational being.

We are aware, let us add in passing to consider another mode of avowal, that it may be thought that the strongest objection to the observance in question lies in the very view which has been presented of it, as an avowal of religious experience. It may be said by many, that the avowal required goes beyond their experience, that the pledge is one which they are afraid they shall not redeem, and that altogether it places them in an unfair position before society, and must subject them to a scrutiny which they are unwilling to undergo.

This objection, as it applies equally to all the other modes of avowal, we will reserve for examination, till we have gone through with the whole subject. We proceed then, in the next place, to consider that acknowledgment of God and of

religious truths and interests, which ought, as we think, to be made in our *families*.

When we look upon a family, when we contemplate it, as a company of human beings passing through a most solemn and perilous trial for happiness and heaven, when we observe there the most intimate of all relationships, exerting too the most direct and powerful of all moral influences, when we know that nothing but the true love of God, and of one another, can make that family happy, that this alone can make all duties easy, and alleviate all trials, and smooth all difficulties, and soften all harsh and angry thoughts ; when we consider how soon it shall pass away from the earth, away to its everlasting destiny, — how soon and how certainly sickness, separation, death shall come in the midst of all its earthly joys and hopes, — we ask, if nothing of all this shall be openly and fully recognised in its dwelling ? That dwelling itself is mouldering to dust, and a century or two hence the passing winds shall bear no sound of mirth or grief from all its desolate chambers ; — shall no altars be set up there to the hopes that are immortal, and no voices be lifted to the regions of everlasting life ? Toils and temptations, and cares and anxieties and tears are in that dwelling ; shall there be no prayers, no holy communing with the sacred page, no common, no united resort to the sources of relief, and comfort, and strength ? Youth is there taking its deepest impressions, and it is going forth to struggle with the perils and sorrows of life, — the youth of the immortal is there, and it is there taking its eternal biases ; shall not religion be lifted up before its eyes visibly, as the great hope of a happy life, and of a blessed eternity ?

Why shall it not ? The objection that there is a want of time is too trivial to be discussed. The want of competency on the part of the heads of families cannot be fairly alleged. If it were so, that any one felt himself unable to lead the devotions of others, or if he felt it difficult to present himself in so new a character before his family, could he not, at least, daily read the Scriptures in the presence of his assembled household ? Might he not introduce, as a part of his domestic arrangements, the practice, at some hour of the morning or evening, of reading the Bible or some book of devotion, for religious improvement ; and would not silent meditation and prayer, or more direct and formal worship, very soon and nat-

urally follow? If any one says, that a stated practice of this kind might sometimes call upon him, when his mind was unprepared or averse to it, and might thus lead him into bondage or mockery, instead of real and free devotion, then, at least, let him begin to do this occasionally, and endeavour to acquire the habit, which he might do, of making it constantly interesting. Or, if any one says, that he doubts about formal services of any kind, but that he will often speak to his children and domestics, of moral principle, of inward purity, of the love of God, and of prayer, as the chief interest and end of life, then let him do this faithfully and heartily. Let him do this, with feeling and fervor, and it will not be long, we are persuaded, before he will feel it neither strange nor irksome, to bow in solemn and cheerful worship before the Father of spirits and the God of all mercies.

We are not strenuous about the form, but we do insist that in some form, or in some way, religion should be acknowledged in our families more than is usually done, as the supreme object of life, and the only guide to eternity. Circumstances never assume their proper character, things never take their just place, in our families, till religion is thus elevated to its rightful supremacy among us. Till this is done, domestic life has no lofty aim; events, that are daily taking place in every family, have no clear interpreter; success and disappointment, sickness and health, are mere earthly accidents, and fulfil no high or sacred ministry. Is it not suitable that religion, Heaven's chief agent and interpreter and guide, should stand thus visibly before us? When Moses had delivered the great commandment to the Israelites, saying, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might,' he added, 'And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house and upon thy gates.'

This passage was literally interpreted and obeyed among the Jews, though it is thought by most commentators, that in making frontlets, or pieces of parchment, with certain senten-

cés of the law written upon them, to bind upon the forehead, as also upon the hands, they were too literal. It is observable, however, that among the Jews and most other nations, the usages of domestic piety have been much more common than among ourselves. In the earliest periods of the history of most nations, the master of a family, and the ruler of a people, almost invariably fulfilled the office of a priest, by offering libations and sacrifices. Among Christian nations, in former times, there have been many indications of the same character ; — private oratories, or places of prayer, sacred images, with frequent homages to them, in every dwelling, and many other visible tokens of its dedication to religion, and to God. It would be most grateful to believe, if we could lawfully do so, that while the direct indications of domestic devotion have been declining in modern times, those which are indirect and more unequivocal have been increasing. We know that indirect manifestations of character are often the most decisive and unquestionable. We often see, for instance, the spirit of covetousness or of ambition, spreading itself through a family, and so thoroughly imbibed and so fully acted on, that it is frequently most obvious, when least ostentatious, — most evident, when least intended to be manifest. If any one prefers thus to exhibit his religion in his family, we will take him at his own proposition ; — let us see it thus exhibited, as the ruling principle. It will not always show itself by indirect disclosures ; it will carry visible rules and regulations in its train, as every governing principle does. What, for instance, does the ambitious man do for his child ? He sets him tasks, he labors to arouse him to emulation, he talks with him often, directly, and feelingly on the point, which he has at heart. What interest does he show in his dependents ? He endeavours to train them to his purposes ; he instils his lessons into their memories ; he teaches them distinctly the part they have to act ; he strives by every means to kindle and inflame their zeal. Thus let the pious man act for the great cause of religion, — not doing barely what is set down for him, or what will appease his conscience, but doing all that he can do or devise, in furtherance of so precious and momentous an interest. His family, his children, the beings for whom he is bound as their superior to care, the cherished and beloved, have no other such interest at stake as this. Honors may thicken upon them, wealth may lavish upon them its treasures, but the

time is hasting to them when all earthly accumulation and aggrandizement shall be as nothing in their eyes ; when affliction, sickness, death shall come, and they shall thank him more for one hour's timely instruction, for one word of religious tenderness spoken to them in some former and well remembered hour, than for all the gifts that the fortune or fame of his house can bestow upon them. O then, when the eye of affection fixes its last, earnest gaze upon any one of us, it will not be wealth or splendor, to which it shall turn ; it will not be the evidences of worldly prosperity that shall pass before it ; it will not be those images which have been set up in our households, to pride or the love of display ; but it will be our prayers, upon which the eye of memory shall linger ; it will be the sacred page spread before our family ; it will be the seasons of pious communing together ; it will be the teaching and the tender voice of parental love and authority, that guideth to heaven.

There is another mode of avowal, on which, if our readers will bear with us, we wish to offer some remarks. We are not willing entirely to pass over the subject of *conversation*, and the duty of taking a stand for religion in the intercourse of society and friendship ; in that sphere of life where we spend so many hours, and exert so powerful an influence. Society, conversation, speech, is not yet consecrated to religion and to God, as it ought to be ; and there is probably a weaker sense of obligation, in this respect, than in most others.

Yet nothing, perhaps, more distinctly marks a man, or makes a more distinct impression with regard to his character, than his conversation. This, therefore, is, in the very nature of things, one of the most important modes of religious profession, or avowal. We may partake of the communion ; we may read the Scriptures in our families ; we may make formal prayers, with great earnestness ; and yet, if we never say any thing of religion, the avowal is incomplete. Our formal acts of acknowledgment, indeed, may be before the world, and so far is well ; but without the testimony of hearty and habitual conversation, our acquaintances and friends can never feel that the interests of religion have possession of our minds, as other great interests have. They may say of any one, 'He is a professor ; he prays ; he is a serious man' ; but they will never feel to the very heart, that he is a Christian. 'Out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.' It

speakeeth so in other things ; and it must speak so in religion, to give satisfactory assurance of the principle within.

Let it not be said, as if that were any thing contrary to the view now stated, that '*actions* speak louder than words.' Actions *fulfill* the profession of our lips. Actions are not avowal, but the accomplishment of our vows. We mean, of course, the ordinary actions of a virtuous, holy life. There are certain specific and formal acts, such as that of celebrating the Lord's Supper and that of domestic devotion, which are of the nature of avowal. Such, also, are a very constant attendance at church, and a decided part taken in all good religious enterprises. They serve, to some extent, to *point out* a man, as interested in religion. But the ordinary tenor of his life is to show, whether he is so interested, not whether he professes to be. It is the proof, not the pledge. And however important and indispensable it is as proof, this is not the point now before us. The subject, with which we are now engaged, is that lesser, but still very important subject, the pledge.

In proposing that this pledge or expression of religious feeling should be freely and frankly given in conversation, we would not recommend what often passes under the name, and is considered as bearing the peculiar character of 'religious conversation.' There is a talking upon religion with preciseness and formality, with reluctance and constraint, with artificial solemnity or sadness, which is the avowal in fact, not of religious feeling, but of the want of it. We would ask no expression from any one of what does not exist in him. But where it does exist, where there is a true and heartfelt interest in this great subject, then, we would say, let the lips declare what the heart feels. The wonderful faculty of speech was designed to express the thoughts within ; and surely it ought not to withhold its testimony from those sentiments and affections that are due to the great Giver. 'Because thy loving-kindness is better than life,' says the Psalmist, 'my lips shall praise thee.'

But how may this avowal be properly given in conversation ? It may be given in the intimacy and confidence of friendship. We may say to our friends more, perhaps, than it would be proper to say to the world at large. We may express to them, not only the deep interest we feel in the subject, but our fears, also, our anxieties, our difficulties. We

may unfold to them, whatever is peculiar in the state of our minds. We may speak of our peculiar temptations, of the sins that most easily beset us, of the passions, or of the circumstances, that threaten our moral welfare. Men speak thus freely to one another of the affairs of business. They lay open their difficulties, and ask counsel of those in whom they can confide. Why should they not use the same freedom, and obtain the same aid, in the religious concerns of the mind? The difficulties are as great, surely, and the exigencies are as critical, as they are in business. And they would often be relieved, simply by disclosure, and by the affectionate sympathy and the friendly communication that would follow. Why should not this be done, we repeat. Why should not they whose friendship, but for religion, would be only like the breath that utters it, a transient emotion, a kindling warmth, soon to be lost in the region of cold and eternal oblivion, — why should they not speak of that in which they trust to be friends for ever? Why should not they, who are travelling together the path to heaven, sometimes refer in their discourse to the bright and boundless prospect before them? Why, if any thing is to be common between kindred minds, should not religion be common in their mutual recognition, and familiar in their friendly conversation? And yet, in some minds even of considerable religious sensibility, religion is the one and only subject, of which they never speak even to their most intimate friends! The lips, though touched as with ‘a coal from the altar’ of their secret meditations, are sealed in a strange and almost superstitious silence!

In the next place, there is frequent occasion for a reference to the most exalted principles of religion, in the ordinary intercourse of life. Common conversation is to a very great extent worldly, — worldly, we mean, not merely in its topics, but in its principles, and more worldly too, than the feelings of many, who engage in it, can justify; and yet they seldom have the moral courage, perhaps, to do justice to their own misgivings. The feeling, it may be, is strong within a man, that he cannot agree with the tone of conversation that is passing in this or that company with which he is present; but the feeling that is so worthy to be expressed, is stifled in false shame, instead of being put forward in the shape of a manly and ingenuous testimony. The character of the absent, for instance, may be discussed in a manner and spirit that are felt to be

wrong, and yet no one, perhaps, checks the course of unkind criticism or slanderous insinuation, by saying that it is wrong.

Of the thousands of passing events and circumstances, that furnish the topics of ordinary conversation, there are few that may not be made the subjects of moral discrimination; there are few, in regard to which there is not a right and a wrong, — a wrong to be condemned without fear or favor, and a right to be contended for, in the same spirit. The testimony of honest and conscientious minds is not yet lifted as high as it ought to be, against mercantile fraud and disingenuity, against selfish cunning and cruel oppression in business. There is much that passes in the world as the way of the world, which deserves and greatly needs, for its reform, the most serious reprobation. The excessive coveting of property, the constant violation of promises in business, the unconscionable expedients often resorted to by clients in litigations, amounting in too many instances to the actual subornation of perjury, the universal leaning to self in every project and plan, — all this is apt to be lightly spoken of for the worst of all reasons, that of its commonness and prevalence. A searching and reproofing eye must be fixed upon these and all other gross moral evils, a decided voice must be raised against them, if they are ever to be corrected. Let men, let good men, speak for this cause of truth and righteousness, if they would ever speak for any thing. Let them know that no practices can long stand against a strong moral feeling in the community, if that feeling can once be put in array against them. Let them know that sin is emboldened, is almost kept in countenance, by their worldly laxity, acquiescence, indifference, or timidity. Let us have stronger and more decided words spoken for the good, and against the evil; the words of lofty and uncompromising rebuke against the wrong, or the more powerful words of a deep, desolate sorrow for it. Let us, also, sometimes hear men say, amidst the din and strife of this world's care, and labor, and business, — let them say to ears that will not mistake it, 'These things are not the chief good; the things of this world are passing away from us like the images of a dream; let us not set our hearts upon them, let us not sacrifice one monition of conscience, one breathing of pure and pious affection for all earthly goods; in heaven let our treasures be, and let our hearts be there also.'

There is one further view to be taken of this topic, and that is,

of the general tenor of our conversation. It is by this, more than by any thing else, that a man is reputed to be grave or gay, serious or light-minded. The thoughts that lie deep within us; are unseen, and can be known only by some mode of manifestation. Now business in all its forms is essentially and mainly serious; it is bound down to this character of gravity by the very necessity of the case; and it furnishes, therefore, no criterion of our disposition. Conversation only, and especially that of our unoccupied hours, is free. If then, it is chiefly employed upon light and trivial subjects, if its tone is habitually that of useless trifling, if its effort is always after jests and witticisms, the reputation of being thoughtless triflers will inevitably follow us. We may feel indeed, that the estimate does us injustice; we may feel that we have our serious and solemn reflections, serious and solemn as those of other men who wear a grave countenance; we may actually have them; and this, indeed, is the very thing to be regretted and complained of, that while we have our religious thoughts and feelings, they should be so completely covered over by the flimsy and fantastic veil of perpetual and pertinacious levity. We speak strongly, it may be thought; we speak, indeed, as if there were a degree of obstinacy in this diseased habit of trifling; and it is true that the evil does sometimes go to this extent. The extreme buoyancy and the superabundant spirits of the young, do not unfrequently, for a while, when directed to no rational employment, assume this character of excessive and wasteful gayety. They can scarcely speak a word that must not be singular and droll; they can scarcely dismiss their levity at church, or their folly from the school-room, whither they have been sent to learn wisdom. This is not to be spoken of with severity, perhaps, till it advances into the age of reflection; but then, surely, it is a sad misdirection and a grievous fault. It is a fault, as every careful observer must have perceived, which is particularly adverse to all elevated and manly improvement. The very spirit of that improvement, the spirit that has wrought deeply and struggled hard in the bosom of genius and of all high endeavour, has always been eminently serious; its chosen manifestations have not been the utterance of apt drolleries or ebullitions of senseless mirth; but the throbbing pulse and the bursting tear have been witnesses of unutterable thoughts within. And if it is an injurious fault, it

is equally to be regarded as an unhappy misdirection of faculties that are destined to meet the great moral issue of a being such as ours. It is a sad thing to play the part of harlequin, in a drama, so serious as that which is passing on earth, and so momentous as that which is opening to the scenes of eternity.

We are not of those who would restrain any reasonable hilarity. We would not say any thing to check the natural buoyancy of humor, or the occasional sallies of wit. It is when it becomes the habitual and almost uninterrupted tenor of any one's conversation, that it is an unseemly and hurtful error. Nor should we hastily, in our own judgment, draw the usual inference from this habit, even when it goes thus far. We have often seen the deepest dejection, indeed, veiled over with artificial mirth, and still oftener have we seen a real gayety, which was only the alternation of the profoundest sadness. We have sometimes found too, that deep and even religious reflection was hidden beneath this trifling demeanor, — have found this to be the drapery, and not the man, that was thus exhibited to the world.

But where such is the true interpretation of this apparent anomaly in character, where acquired habit or natural impulse leads any really serious person to unusual gayety in conversation or demeanor, the obligation upon him, for a distinct avowal of his higher sentiments, is doubly urgent. He is bound to give the more explicit testimony to those sentiments, in proportion as they are the more liable to be misapprehended. He should take pains most distinctly to say, or to do that which is tantamount to saying, 'Though my temper leans to unusual buoyancy, and my spirits are naturally light and gay, yet let it not be supposed that I am indifferent to the great subject, in which every rational being should be interested. I may trifle, perhaps, more than I ought; it is difficult to draw the line, that separates indulgence from excess; it is possible to be too constantly serious for one's physical or mental health; but, God forbid that I should be at heart a trifler, or that any one should give me this unworthy name.' Indeed, it may be peculiarly incumbent on a person of this character to express his reverence for religion, by formal acts of public or domestic devotion; though we are aware that the common judgment would be otherwise. We know that a really serious and religious man sometimes says, 'My manners are not sufficiently governed and grave,

for me to profess religion'; but we cannot agree with him. We should say that it is particularly expedient for him to give a solemn and deliberate testimony of his reverence for it.

It is not of this, however, that we are now speaking, but of a testimony in words, in conversation, and, to a greater extent than many do, in the *tenor* of their conversation. Let them consider how great is the effect of an assumed character in this respect upon themselves and upon the manner in which others will treat them. An attempt to support the character of a wit or of a trifler, or of an eccentric person, will often come in the way both of a man's intellectual and religious improvement, — in the way of deep thought, and of all fervent, devotional affection. Others, too, by their almost unconscious expectations from him, by their constant treatment of him, will contribute to the same injurious result. Even good men, who are wont to hold solid and serious discourse with others, may never think of looking for any thing but amusement to him. Have we never seen one — capable, too, of sense and worth, gifted with powers that often showed themselves in the shrewd remark and the sharp answer, — have we never seen such an one made the laughing-stock of a village or neighbourhood, the butt of gibes and jests; — to whom, as he passed, the ball of folly was flung out from every corner to rebound from the skull that covered his idle brain; — one, in short, made a fool, by having been treated as a fool, and treated as a fool because, in some evil hour, he took upon himself the character of a fool! The instance is, indeed, an extreme one; but some approach to that injury may be experienced by every one who makes any approach to the reputation of an habitual trifler or jester.

We must not leave the subject without noticing, as we have promised, two or three objections which are usually made, not to one mode or another of avowal, but to avowal itself. These are probably, in most minds, the leading and principal objections.

One says, 'I have no religious experience to avow in any form, — neither in the communion, nor in domestic worship, nor in conversation.' Let the objection stop here, and let it be set down for a fair and honest statement, and we must allow that it removes the case from our present consideration. If a man has no religion, of course, we say, let him avow

none. We desire hypocrisy to bring no offerings. But is the objection a just and sincere one? Does it stop at the point stated? We are convinced that, in many cases, it is quite otherwise. A man says, 'I have no religious experience to avow'; but he does not mean what his words mean. He is not willing to deny himself the possession of every pure and holy sentiment. He is not willing to say that he is utterly alienated from God and from goodness; that he is one whom neither heaven nor hell moves from his stupidity; whom the thoughts, neither of flying time nor of boundless eternity, arouse to any emotions, either serious or sublime. No; but his objection proceeds to qualifications. 'He has no religion to avow'; and there he is willing that the matter should rest, so long as it will serve simply as an excuse. But do you take him at his word, and tell him that you are then to consider him as one whom no sacred or pious thoughts ever visit, or whom they visit only to be abhorred; and he will probably change his tone, and say, that 'he has his thoughts of religion and his feelings about it, as well as another.' Well; if he has religious thoughts and feelings, why shall he not avow them, avow so much as he has, and no more? Why not, at least, confess his deficiency, — a confession sometimes so made, made with such regret and pain, as to be one of the most interesting and promising of all avowals? But perhaps the objector means, not that he has no religion, but that he has not religion *enough* to make it proper for him to avow it. But is any such distinction fairly to be made? Is there any one point in religious experience where it is proper for avowal to begin? Is the day of small things to be despised? Must it not always come before the day of great things? But perhaps it is a real and amiable modesty that leads some to hesitate. There may be a hearty interest in religion, and an earnest desire to promote it, but the possessor of these feelings says, 'I am not the person to come forward with professions; I should be ashamed to say that I am good, or spiritually minded.' To such an one we have a single question to propose. Is modesty to stand in the place of all other virtues, and in the way of all other duties? Let it be ever so amiable and praiseworthy, but let it not be extravagant; let it not be held in exclusive respect as above all other claims. And if it were, yet what is this modesty after all? What is it but one of those virtues that fairly claim a frank and explicit acknowl-

edgment? Modesty, a humble sense of our deficiencies, is no disqualification from avowal, but a special reason for it.

But in the next place, some will say, 'We are afraid that we shall not keep our vows. If we were to establish a devotional service in our families, or were to attend the communion, and if we should talk of religion in a manner as if we were personally interested in it; and then, if after all this, we were to fall into those offences which we had professed our purpose to avoid, it were better that we had not professed.' We cannot admit this conclusion, and we fear that pride lies deeper in the objection, than humility does, notwithstanding its fair appearance. Why cannot a faithful and devoted man humbly and gratefully acknowledge the interest he takes in religion, with the full purpose, at the same time, that if he falls into sins inconsistent with that acknowledgment, he will yet more humbly confess them? Why shall he not be willing, through resolutions and confessions, through endeavours and humiliations, to work out his way to heaven? Why shall reproach be so dreaded a thing to a creature so frail and sinful, and who ought every day to reproach himself too deeply to be afraid of reproach from another?

Besides, avowal is one of the means which may have power to preserve him from falling into sin. Admit that it does not hold the highest place; yet if it has any power, is it for so weak a creature as man to dispense with it? There are moments of strong temptation, of blinding passion, when a man may forget, or lose sight of, his higher principles; and it is better that he should then remember his vows, and the stand he has taken before the world, than that he should remember nothing that will save him. Better surely than utter ruin is it, to be rescued by the fear of disgrace.

But in the last place, some will say, perhaps, that although the avowal proposed ought not to be precluded by modesty, or by the fear of falling into sin, yet that it would place them in an unfair position before society. 'The eye of the world will be upon us,' they may say, 'and it will mark our slightest faults as gross offences. It will note every deviation from the strictest decorum and sobriety, every compliance even with the decent fashions and amusements of society, nay, every instance of innocent hilarity, as a monstrous inconsistency with our profession.'

Admit that there is a degree of unreasonableness and su-

perdition in the world on this subject; yet is it right to concede so much to unreasonableness and superstition as this objection proposes to do? Is it right, out of deference to these mistakes of the world, to neglect an otherwise acknowledged and binding duty, which we owe to religion and to God? Besides, if the judgment of the world is wrong in this matter, the proper course is, not submission to it, but an endeavour to correct it. And nothing would be so effectual for this purpose, as a course of earnest and unquestionable piety, connected with a reasonable enjoyment of the pleasures of this life. Yet more; if there be unfairness and injustice in this opinion of the world, can we not estimate it for what it is worth? Can we not show some independence in the noblest of all causes? Can we not stand up firmly in the integrity of our own consciences? Can we not bear this slight wrong in the discharge of our duty? Can we not, I ask once more,—can we not take up thus far the cross of Christ, when we follow him?

In short, we contend for manifestation in the concerns of religion, as a duty very important to ourselves, to society, to the great cause, whose progress is the paramount interest of the world. The best hopes of this life, the only hopes of a future life, are bound up in this cause; and it ought to stand forth so prominently amidst our objects and pursuits, that none could mistake it,—that none could say of us, what is said of so many, that ‘they know not what our feelings are on that subject, or whether we make it a subject of any thought or interest whatever.’ This interest, this thoughtfulness, this solemn regard for things divine and eternal, if it exist in us, be it remembered, is itself invisible. No man knoweth it, till it is manifested by us; no human eye can pierce the depths of the soul where it first springs up; and it demands, therefore, of the kindling eye and the speaking countenance, of the eloquent lips and the uplifted hands, and of the solemn vow sworn upon the altar, to give it expression. Religion should not wander through the world, unknown, unrecognised, hiding itself in corners, stealing through darkness and silence in its way to heaven. No; but it should walk forth, with its own noble air and mien, in its own atmosphere of light; coming to the light, so that its deeds shall be manifested that they are wrought in God. It is willing, and it ought, to be seen, and known, and read of all men; to be an uttered speech and wisdom which none can gainsay; to be a manifested aim and

purpose, which none can misunderstand ; to be a shining light and brightness, to which none can close their eyes.

Every thing else has manifestation among men ; yes, formal and express manifestation ; the spirit of gain, the spirit of ambition, the love of pleasure ; they all have their avowals, their pledges, their forms. Why shall not the spirit of religion, in like manner, show itself and bind itself with vows and testimonies ?

It hath more need than they ; for it is liable to be overborne and buried, in the mass of earthly interests and vanities that from every quarter press upon it. We confess that a survey of the state into which men are every where fallen, or are exposed to fall, that a more careful estimate of the moral condition of society around us, that more reflection upon the fearful temptations and dangers that beset it, that a more thorough conviction, we may say, of the evils that prevail in the world, have led us to think more than we have formerly done, of the importance of giving what virtue, what piety there is in society, all the manifestation, all the power of manifestation, of which it is capable. The prospects of society, if in some respects they seem to be more promising than formerly, in others, appear more perilous. It will not yet do, if it will ever do, in this world, for good men to take their simple, separate, silent way to the grave. It will not do to dismiss from our system of moral discipline any means, however humble, of promoting the virtue and purity of the world. The flood of worldly maxims and practices that is sweeping through the earth threatens such danger, that all possible landmarks and barriers should be lifted up to stay its course. Souls are struggling in that mighty deep of human passions ; and they should call to one another, and cheer one another in the perilous strife. They should, indeed, put forth their own strength, and pray to God for help ; but they should, also, lay a hand upon every support, upon every floating plank, that will help to buoy them up. The conflict is brief, as well as perilous ; all will soon be over ; and moral safety, therefore, should be the engrossing and manifest concern. The blessed haven, where are rest and safety, lies within reach ; but the dull tide will not float us thither, the strong arm of irregular and misdirected effort will not bear us to it, — nay, but we must plainly direct our course, and spread abroad our sail, and command and concentrate all power, action, mechanism, to the one

great purpose. Thus does it become Christian men to live in this world; and thus doing, thus declaring their great aim, thus letting their light shine, may they hope to bear the greatest number of their fellow-beings with them to the heavenly land.

ART. VI. — *Exposé Historique des Discussions élevées entre la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève, et M. Gaussen, l'un de ses Membres; &c.*

Historical Account of the Discussions between the Company of the Pastors of Geneva, and M. Gaussen, one of its Members, on occasion of a Point of Ecclesiastical Discipline: Addressed by the Company to the Church of Geneva, and accompanied by Documents. Geneva. 1831. 8vo. pp. 160.

SUCH is the interest attached to the affairs of the church of Geneva, that nothing can take place there without attracting the attention of the Christian world. That little Protestant community, early celebrated for its zeal in the Reformation, and more recently for its faithful adherence to the great principles of that illustrious era, is watched by its Protestant sisters with a jealousy, which allows nothing that occurs within its borders to pass uncriticized. The world is made to ring with lamentations over her defection from the faith, and a busy zeal is engaged in aggravating the story of her heresies and casting odium on her name. So far is this ungenerous spirit carried, that even the misdeeds of other Swiss churches are attributed to her; and so little do men care to discriminate, where they can blacken a body they dislike and add an emphasis to the hue and cry against Unitarianism, that they make her responsible for the imprisonments and banishments which have been perpetrated by the Orthodox cantons of Vaud and Berne. We are sorry to say, that this crying injustice is done, and unatoned for, by men from whom we should as little expect ignorance as wrong on such a subject; though, at the same time, we must add, that it corresponds but too well to the reckless party spirit, with which the religious controversy of the times has been carried on. Geneva has been

guilty of no such flagrant wrong. She may have erred ; — most unfortunately she is an established, national church, and wields power, — she may possibly have used it injudiciously. But to banish and imprison belongs to her Orthodox neighbours, not to her ; and we do not understand how good men justify it to themselves to wantonly attribute to her what was done by others, or to aggravate with hasty zeal the errors of which she has been really guilty. We do not admire her government ; we are not apologists for her wrong. But where there is so much eagerness to defame her, we confess we feel disposed to step in and cry, *Audi alteram partem*. We are not willing that all the religious journals should circulate stories to her disadvantage, without one word uttered in her defence. The defendant always has a right to be heard before he is condemned, and we humbly submit, that the favored children of America ought to extend this common justice to one of the oldest and favorite daughters of the Reformation.

We have done something on former occasions to make known to our readers the character and history of this church.* Since our last article, indeed within the last twelve months, circumstances have arisen, which were originally of little moment, except on the spot where they occurred, but which, from the use which has been made of them, have swollen into importance. The attention of the public was first attracted to them by an article in the 'Christian Observer,' for November, 1830, headed 'Religious Intolerance in Geneva,' which, copied into other journals, circulated through the Christian world, and within a few months was followed by two other articles. This is the language used in the first article, after a few preliminary remarks.

'We grieve to say, that the spirit of intolerance has again broken forth ; not in some remote rural district, but in Geneva itself ; not on the part of a few obscure bigots, but on the part of the venerable Company of Pastors ; and not directed against some rash and ignorant individual, whose conduct could be urged as a pretext for hostility, but against one of the most faithful, pious, humble, regular, and useful ministers which the modern church of Geneva can boast, —

* See The Christian Disciple, New Series, Vol. III. p. 214, and The Christian Examiner, Vol. IV. p. 37.

M. Gaussen, the well known and beloved pastor of Satigny. The dominant ecclesiastical party in Geneva have never forgiven M. Gaussen the offence of republishing, with Mr. Cellerier, the Helvetic confession, which they wish to be forgotten, as the monument of their heterodoxy and secession from the true principles of their church. But his exemplary conduct and his ecclesiastical regularity have hitherto prevented their finding occasion against him. * * *

‘The circumstances to which we allude are the following. M. Gaussen lately received from the Company of Pastors an order to renew the use of its catechism in his schools; which he declined doing, as well he might, from the heterodox complexion of that document. The refusal was made a pretext for hostility; and it has even been seriously proposed to deprive him of his benefice. All moderate and well judging persons in Geneva have declaimed against such intolerance and persecution.’

This was written while the proceedings at Geneva were pending, and it is observable how readily—we do not say how charitably—the writer attributes them wholly to a revengeful spirit on the part of the majority of the clergy. Indeed the coloring of the whole, written while the inquiry was yet going on, shows too eager a desire to criminate. Nothing but this can account for the member of an established church so openly countenancing insubordination in such a case as this. What would he say to the doctrine as applied to an English clergyman, that he ‘did well’ to refuse teaching the church catechism, because he esteemed it heterodox? In another paper on the same subject, he bitterly censures the Genevan pastors for allowing M. Chenevière, ‘one of the most celebrated of the pastors and professors,’ to retain his benefice after publishing an essay on the trinity and calling it a most deplorable error; and asks, ‘How many months, or weeks, or days would a clergyman of the Church of England, or a professor in our universities, be permitted to retain his office after such a declaration?’ We really do not understand the consistency of this.

In his succeeding articles this writer gives a brief *ex parte* view of the affair, calling it a ‘persecution,’ likening M. Gaussen to the ‘martyrs,’ and, apparently on his authority, accusing the other pastors of what is ‘disingenuous,’ ‘dishonorable,’ and ‘insidious,’ and speaking of the church as

'corrupted.' Such is the impression which America as yet has received on this subject. We have been led to look at it a little more particularly, and propose to offer to our readers the result of our examination. And though they possibly may think that we are giving to it a greater space than a matter of this intrinsic magnitude deserves, we trust they will excuse us when they consider that it is simply an attempt to clear away an aspersion from the fair fame of one of the few liberal communities upon earth, whose slanderers are opening their mouths every where, and she is herself not present to refute them.

We happen to have access to all the official papers relating to this case, and it is from them that we make up our present account. They are contained in the pamphlet, whose title is at the head of this article, and which was published by the authority of the Company of Pastors at Geneva. They consist of the letters which passed between the Company and M. Gaussen, the letter of M. Gaussen to his parishioners and their reply, the votes of the Company, and a narrative of the case drawn up by a committee. So that we fortunately possess the statements and reasonings of both parties. A more fair publication in this, as well as other respects, it is not often our lot to meet with.

To come then to the history of the case. It is the rule of the Company of Pastors, to whom pertains the superintendence of the Genevan Church, to institute an inquiry every one or two years, into the pastoral conduct of the ministers of the church. In the regular course of this inquiry in September, 1830, it appeared that M. Gaussen, pastor of the parish of Satigny, had ceased, for the two preceding years, to teach the appointed catechism. On being called upon to explain this irregularity, he gave as his reason, that he esteemed the catechism faulty in point of doctrine, and faulty in method; that he considered it better to teach the Bible only, and accordingly had substituted a series of Scripture questions in place of the public catechism; and that he had done this without consulting the Company, because he had understood that it had been allowed to other ministers before him.

It was at once shown him that in regard to this last point he labored under a complete mistake; and a resolution passed, without a dissenting voice, though several of the members voting were Orthodox, that he must be required to re-

sume the catechetical instruction as existing in all the other parishes. At the same time he was invited to state his objections to the catechism to the committee entrusted with its revision, who would be glad of any suggestions which might aid them in rendering it more perfect.

Such were the proceedings of September 10th. Five weeks passed away, without its being known whether M. Gaussen intended to comply with the requisition of the Company. This interval was employed by him in preparing an elaborate statement and defence of his case, apparently for publication, though ostensibly a private letter to the Company. It was communicated by him in two parts, at the stated weekly sessions of that body on the 16th and 22d of October, and occupies forty-three pages of the volume before us. It is written with great plausibility and skill, in the tone of one who thinks himself wronged, and with an evident aim at popular effect. After stating, more particularly than he had done in presence of the Company, his actual method of religious instruction for the young, he repeats his objections to the catechism; that, in the first place, it omits the four doctrines of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the moral fall of man, the justification of sinners by the blood of Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost; and that, secondly, it is abstract, dry, and above the comprehension of young people in the country. He then proceeds to observe, that the Company have required two things; first, that this catechism shall be used in the schools of his parish. To this he strongly objects, says it is virtually taking the Bible out of the hands of the pupils, and begs that the vote may be reconsidered. Further than this he does not feel himself bound to go. But in regard to the second point, that he shall himself use the catechism in his own private instruction to the children, his conscience does not allow him to consent, and he thinks that the pastors have gone beyond their jurisdiction in requiring it.

Having thus dismissed the subject in hand, and with very earnest professions of his love of peace and dislike of contention, he seizes the opportunity, not very consistently with these professions, of making an assault on the venerable Company; accusing it not only of maintaining false doctrines, but of having set at defiance the fundamental constitution of the state, usurped powers which did not belong to it, and by dishonest artifice, in an underhand way, made changes in the for-

mularies and ordinances of the church, contrary to the laws ; so that in fact it was guilty of the very irregularities it was charging on him, and that he himself had a better right to call them to account for deserting the order of the church, than they to charge it on him ; in a word, that he and his adherents constituted the real church of Geneva, and the majority were only usurpers and impostors. This is the substance of his long letter ; in which one is immediately struck with the inconsistency between its air of defiance and its reiterated professions of a desire of peace, grief at being compelled to say these things, and anxiety lest the subject should publicly transpire. We think no one can read it without an impression that it was designed for the public.

This letter was referred to a committee of five, who, on the 5th of November, made a report, which appears at length in the publication before us. This report enters into a full history of the catechism and of the changes which it has undergone, and shows that the accusations of unfairness and illegality which had been brought against the Company, are entirely without foundation. As this is the point of by far the greatest interest in the whole inquiry, our readers will be glad to see it stated at some length.

We must begin with the account of the matter by M. Gausson. For two hundred, or two hundred and fifty years, according to him, Calvin's catechism alone was taught in the schools. It was recited in them during the week, and explained in the churches on Sunday. More lately there were united with it the catechisms of Superville and Ostervald. The latter was introduced into all the schools between 1780 and 1788, and as new editions of it were printed from time to time, alterations were made in it, which in some measure changed its doctrinal complexion. It was succeeded at length by the catechism of Vernes, and this again by that of Martin, which was afterwards revised by four catechists. These alterations and changes, he argues, were illegal, because not made in conformity to the method prescribed by the Ordinances, which require the approbation of the Grand Council.

In reply to this, the report goes into a minute examination of the whole history. It seems that, by the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1576, it is required of those who enter the ministry of the national church, that 'they engage to hold the doctrine of the holy Prophets and Apostles, as it is con-

tained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, of which doctrine we have a summary in our catechism.' This was the catechism of Calvin, who had been dead twelve years. It is required also, that this catechism shall serve as the basis of instruction given from the pulpits of the Canton at certain appointed times, in exercises called the *public catechizing*. In 1725, when all formularies of faith were renounced by the venerable Company, the above cited article was retained, accompanied by the explanation, 'that in referring to the catechism, the engagement taken by the pastors is not to be understood as placing it on the same footing with the Scriptures, nor as implying an obligation to follow it throughout; but simply as an acknowledgment that it contains the substance and summary of the Christian doctrine.' Indeed, it is most obvious that the Ordinance implies no more than this. From this time till 1770, the subject seems not to have been agitated. In February of that year, a committee, appointed to consider of what improvements the public offices of the church were susceptible, made a report, from which it appeared, that at that time the ancient catechism had so far fallen into desuetude, as to be only used to mark the order of sections at the public catechizing, while parents and teachers in every other situation had adopted some other; and therefore, as well as on account of its obscurity and its being so much occupied with disputed points, the committee proposed that it should be formally abandoned, and another substituted in its place. This report was laid by for nine years; when the subject was again called up. The Company then desired to make the change which the committee had proposed; but as Calvin's catechism had received its authority from the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, and the Council was engaged in a revision of these Ordinances, the matter was deferred until that revision should be completed. The Council however did nothing about it, and the affair rested as it was eight years longer, till 1787. The inconvenience from the want of uniformity in the religious instruction of the church, occasioned by the variety of catechisms which had crept into use, had then become so great, that it could be borne no longer; and the Company appointed a committee to determine what should be done. This committee proposed to adopt for the lower classes the smaller catechism of Ostervald, and for the upper classes and the catechumens, Ostervald's catechism, with the

additions of M. de Roches ; while Calvin's, in a new arrangement of the sections, should still be used at the public catechizing. In the mean time, however, M. Martin, the public catechist at the Magdalen church, had devised a method of his own, and obtained leave to introduce it, and thus Calvin's work passed entirely out of use. The two catechisms recommended by the committee were adopted, and ordered to be put into the hands of the catechumens, the students of the college,* and the children of the country. Here, however, the Council interposed ; and, having inquired into the doings of the Company, declared, that they had the greatest confidence in that body, but that as the edict of 1782 had made it their duty to inspect all works of this class, they could not allow the catechisms in question to be published without examination by their own officers. This examination having been made, the Council voted its approbation, and ' testified to the venerable Company its satisfaction and gratitude, for the zeal it had manifested in all that relates to public instruction.' From this time the new catechisms were adopted in all the religious instruction of the Canton, and the next year an abridgment was prepared for the use of the youngest children. It is only necessary to add, that in explaining to the Council the grounds of their proceeding, the Company of Pastors represented, that hitherto all the editions of the various catechisms in use had been prepared by the booksellers, and never by authority of the Company or any other body ; and that the consequent diversity of books and editions had occasioned great perplexity, and led all, most nearly concerned in the matter, to desire that some one might be set forth by authority.

From this statement it appears, that as long ago as 1725, Calvin's catechism had ceased to be regarded in the light of a confession of faith ; that in the course of years it gradually fell into disuse, other similar works of various authors being substituted by parents and teachers, till Calvin was used only at the public catechizing ; that the general dissatisfaction with this state of things induced the Company, after much deliberation and cautious delay (from 1770 to 1787), to substitute other catechisms ; and that to this substitution, the Council,

* In Geneva the College is the school for boys, and the Academy a college for young men.

to whom the right of decision in the case belonged, gave its hearty approbation. So far was the change from being made in the underhand way that M. Gausсен represents. So far too was it from being the act of the ministers only, that they did not move in it till compelled by public opinion, which had already wrought the change in fact, and the Council ratified and established their act. Neither did they consider their work perfect and unalterable. In 1809 a committee of revision was appointed, which, after eighty-five sittings, reported a corrected edition, specifying seven alterations of importance. This edition, with all its improvements, was readily received, and went into universal use without opposition, it is said, from any of the very various opinions which are represented in the Company. Indeed, the changes seem to have been principally designed to remove all expressions on disputed points, about which there would be disagreement, and to retain only those general forms of representing doctrinal truth, to which all can equally assent. Accordingly, M. Gausсен himself, for twelve years, found no difficulty in teaching this catechism; for, as he himself says, he was easily able to add, for the instruction of his children, those peculiar sentiments which the text-book did not express. The other Orthodox ministers did the same. Revised editions were again published in 1811, 1814, and 1817. Whether the last was expressly authorized by the Company and the Council, does not appear; nor whether the revision embraced any important changes. It has from that time continued in universal use, and its approbation by the Government was acknowledged, when, in 1823, it requested the Company to strike out the sections which relate to the Catholic controversy.

As to the allegation, that the Ordinances require the use of Calvin's catechism, it is replied, that they have become in almost every particular a dead letter; time and disuse have rendered them obsolete. When an edict was passed for their revision in 1791, it contained a provision, 'that until this revision should be completed, the Ordinances should continue to be observed and executed in all their extent, excepting always those particulars in regard to which contrary usages have been introduced, in which case these usages shall continue to be observed.' The same edict also forbids that any changes be made in the liturgy and catechisms, except in a certain way; thereby establishing the catechisms at that time in use,

namely, those of 1788. And if it should be thought to infringe the letter of the above edict, that the government gave only an *implied* assent to the later revisions, it yet is not inconsistent with its spirit; or if it were, still it would only restore to use the formularies of 1788, and by no means bring back, as M. Gaussen pretends, the ancient work of Calvin.

Having gone through with these historical notices, the report closes with urging, that this is a matter of discipline merely, in which it would not be becoming for the authority of the church to yield to the irregularity of one individual, and not at all a question of theological doctrine; in regard to which it proceeds to vindicate the impartiality and fairness of the Company.

The deliberations of the Company ended in an edict, confirming that of the tenth of September, requiring that the catechism shall be used in the school of the parish of Satigny and at the public catechizing, but allowing M. Gaussen to dispense with it in his private teaching. He was again requested to submit to consideration any suggestions for the improvement of the catechism, and for the better religious instruction of the young. He was further required to withdraw his letters.

M. Gaussen, on learning the tenor of this edict, immediately acknowledged that he had misunderstood the purport of that of the tenth of September, which had been couched in general terms; and finding that it was only designed to regulate the public instruction, and not to interfere with his own personal mode of teaching, he professed himself satisfied, and ready to continue his ministry as heretofore.

And here the whole matter might have rested in an amicable adjustment, had not a new bone of contention been thrown out in the unfortunate requisition that M. Gaussen should withdraw his letters. The Company thought its dignity concerned in insisting that its archives should not retain a document couched in language disrespectful to themselves, and calling in question their rights. M. Gaussen, on the other hand, thought that this step 'would infallibly be construed into a retraction of his principles and doctrines,' and therefore considered that it became his character to refuse to take back what he had written. The Company explained, that there was no desire or intention to make him disavow his principles; but he thought it would be so understood abroad.

Neither party would yield, and the breach became irreparable. And thus, after the real difficulty had been removed, a mere punctilio of form was permitted to destroy the prospect of accommodation and peace. The venerable Company could not stoop from its dignity so far as to send back the offensive document, and the conscientious pastor was too fearful of the construction which might be put on the act to take it back himself. The Company thought its authority, nay its very existence, jeopardied by the resistance of the minister; and the minister thought his character ruined if he should yield. They stood like two duelists, whom honor forces to fight, when one word would reconcile them.

Another difficulty arose at the same time. The Company, in order to avoid misconstruction, had thought it necessary to state, that, in the votes which it had passed on this occasion, 'it did not design to surrender its legal right of making regulations in future, especially that of introducing, if judged best, a uniform mode of conducting the public catechizing in the several churches.' M. Gausсен is greatly astonished and offended at this; he considers it as a proof that the Company are far from a conciliatory disposition, and in warm language complains of it.

In this state of things, the Company felt itself compelled to regard M. Gausсен as a refractory member, obstinately set in opposition to the legal authority of the church, and requiring to be treated accordingly. It proceeded therefore to an act of discipline; and after discussing the different measures, more or less severe, which were proposed by different individuals, adopted a resolution in the following form:

'The Venerable Company of the Pastors of Geneva, — considering that, on the 15th and 22d of October last, M. Gausсен addressed to this body letters, which for their manner and substance are censurable, though no reference is herein had to the religious doctrines stated in them; — considering that he has obstinately refused to observe that part of the edict of November 5th which requires him to withdraw his letters; — considering, moreover, that they had been preceded by an act contrary to ecclesiastical discipline in the introduction of unauthorized changes into the mode of religious instruction in the parish of Satigny; — ordains, 1. that M. Gausсен is censured; 2. that he is suspended for one year from the right of sitting in the Company except in cases where his presence

shall be especially required ; it being understood, that the Company retains its oversight over the religious affairs of the parish of Satigny.'

Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth ! It is truly said in the pamphlet before us, that this, in its commencement, was a very small affair ; and it would seem that it might have been very easily adjusted. But, unfortunately, there was wanting a perfect confidence between the two parties, and their mutual jealousy of each other's intentions tended to widen the breach which each at heart desired should be closed. M. Gaussen, knowing that for doctrinal reasons he had broken the rules of the church, suspected that it was doctrinal reasons only which induced the church authorities to deal with him. The Company, on the other hand, insisted that it was simply and purely a matter of discipline, and attempted by every possible means to clear themselves of all suspicion of acting from theological bias. And we do not see how, with any pretence of justice, it can be charged upon them. Look at the case. It is a Presbyterian church. There are certain laws and regulations to which its ministers are necessarily subject, and over the execution of them the Company of the Pastors is the constituted guardian. One of the members is guilty of a breach of rule. Does it not follow, as a matter of necessity, that he is called to account for it ? And because he happens to hold some doctrines opposed to those of the majority, is it therefore to be said that they are prompted, in calling him to account, by party bias, and that this is persecution ? Indeed it seems to us that such an accusation is singularly inconsiderate and unfair.

But it will be said, the regulation was an oppressive one, and M. Gaussen could not in conscience observe it. But, in the first place, he had observed it for twelve years, and, so far from finding it oppressive, had been able very easily to teach, under its cover, all the orthodoxy he desired, and no man had hindered him. In the next place, he was willing that the catechism should be taught in his parish, provided he was not compelled to teach it personally, — which was not demanded of him ; so that his whole complaint was after all ungrounded and gratuitous. Besides which, how is the regulation in any sense oppressive ? Only consider that it is a national and Presbyterian church, and you will not find in the compass of ecclesiastical history any thing of the sort so generous as this.

All such establishments have their formularies, which they compel their members to adopt and learn; and thus all contain fixed articles of faith, from which no departure is allowed. Not so at Geneva. To its immortal honor be it said, it has set the example of a national, established, Presbyterian church, striking out from its catechism all enumeration of doctrines which could embarrass the faith, or offend the conscience, or check the free inquiry of any individual, and retaining only the broad and fundamental principles under which all may unite whatever the variety of their private opinions;—and under which M. Gaussen himself, as well as others, had quietly taught Calvinism for many years. Now then where is the oppression? Where is the infringement of conscience, talked of? And especially how does it become the ‘Christian Observer,’ advocating a Church Establishment which is far from granting this liberal allowance, to be foremost in casting a stone at its sister of Geneva? No; the fault for which the Genevan establishment is thus held up to the censure of the Christian world, is not that it makes oppressive requisitions of conscience, but that it does not make any; not that it compels its members to adopt the faith of its own majority, but that it does not compel them to adopt the Orthodox faith;—as M. Gaussen himself says more than once; he acknowledges that he is allowed to teach what he thinks to be the true doctrine, but that does not satisfy him, for others are also allowed to teach what they hold to be true; and he complains that there is not a catechism which would forbid them to do so. He would have them reinstate Calvin’s; and if this were only done, and all the Pastors were obliged to teach, and all the children compelled learn, that ancient compendium; he and his English friends would be well satisfied. This is very like the complaint recently made in this neighbourhood, that the Theological professors of Harvard College were to offer daily prayers in the University chapel; not because they would introduce any thing objectionable, but because they would ‘omit’ what is Orthodox.

We are no friends of an establishment, or of ecclesiastical tribunals. We wish that our brethren at Geneva were well rid of them. We look with admiration on what they have been able to do for religious liberty while so encumbered as they have been with their antiquated forms, and walking in fetters. But we wish they were thoroughly emancipated. It

is but too true, as M. Gaussen reminded them, that it is not in the nature of things to keep strictly to the forms of a Presbyterian government, its authority, its tribunals, and its censures, and yet allow entire liberty of thought. The independence of thought for which they have been for a century nobly striving, is consistent only with independence of churches; a truth so well understood in this country, that it has been a favorite object with those here who dread the former, to destroy the latter, and by new combinations essentially to change the character which our lauded fathers gave to their congregations. But surely it is not for such, or for any advocates of establishments and tribunals, to hold up to obloquy as guilty of intolerance and persecution, a body which has used its power with the moderation evinced in the affair we are considering. *We* may express dissatisfaction, for we disapprove the whole system of external compulsion and management which is inherent in a national establishment, and are persuaded that on the principles of Congregationalism or of Independency no such troubles could have arisen as have disturbed the peace of Geneva. But when the advocates of church governments condemn, let them, for consistency's sake, own that they have nothing to find fault with except the *doctrines* of those who hold the power, 'no fault, except as pertaining to the law of their God.' *We* may say that M. Gaussen ought to have been left to take his own way; and that it would have been better quietly to return the offensive epistle, than to risk another disobedience and a final rupture, by commanding the sensitive writer to withdraw it. But *they* can consistently hold no such language; and every one perceives, when they make such an outcry, that it is not from any objection they can reasonably make to this proceeding in itself, but simply because M. Gaussen is a Calvinist, and the Company of Pastors is liberal.

As for the manner in which these proceedings have been received in Geneva, they of course have created no small excitement, and have given rise to very different opinions according as individuals were disposed to favor the Company or the minister. The great majority of the people approved the doings of the Company, and there was a general feeling that its measures had been taken with exemplary moderation and leniency. There were advocates in the Company and in the community for much severer proceedings. The advocates of

M. Gaussen have, of course, erected him into a martyr, and have seized the occasion to excite to the utmost possible extent a feeling unfavorable to the Pastors, and to extend the influence of Orthodox sentiments. M. Gaussen has published a pamphlet in vindication of himself, and in further assault on the authority and character of the Pastors. He has also made himself active in the establishment of 'the Evangelical Society of Geneva,' the object of which seems to be, by every active means, to revolutionize religious opinion in that city, and restore the fallen empire of Calvinism. In order to this, they do not withdraw from the national church, for doing which M. Malan has been blamed as guilty of a piece of ill policy; but, maintaining, with M. Gaussen, that the present Company is exercising an illegal and usurped authority, and that the true power can belong only to those who abide by the ancient ordinances and the catechism of Calvin, they propose to erect a new church in the bosom of the old, and when in time it shall have become sufficiently strong, eject the present holders of power, and raise up again all the fallen honors of the ancient régime.

These occurrences must have naturally had the effect to draw unwonted attention to the doctrines which in fact lie at the bottom of the dispute. It is well known to have been the liberal policy of this church, to discourage, as much as possible, all polemic controversy, and to confine the attention of the religious community to the great and undisputed points of divine revelation. Hence doctrinal discussion has hardly occurred in the city; and the peculiarities of different sects are almost unknown. Probably very little interest has been felt in them. It would seem probable, however, that this state of things can no longer continue. The long peace must be broken and contention must follow. Those who have heretofore been discontented with the prevailing quietness, and who have thought that duty to truth demanded the agitation of doctrinal questions, will now have an opportunity to speak. Of these, is Chenevière, the learned professor and eloquent preacher, who has been preparing a series of Essays on the doctrines of the gospel. Their publication at this moment is particularly opportune, and will draw to them an attention greater than under other circumstances they would probably have received. The first two of these, on the Trinity and on Original Sin, are now lying on our table, and may

call for a particular notice at some future time. Other writers are also understood to have appeared; and it has been proposed to establish a theological journal, which should be suited to the emergencies of the day. What will be the effect of this agitation it is not easy precisely to foretell. That it will in many respects be unhappy, exciting bad passions, producing alienations, and giving opportunities for that unfairness, abusiveness, and slander, to which Geneva has been hitherto a stranger, but which grow up like weeds in the rank soil of theological warfare, there can be no doubt. But it is the province of Him who is over all to bring good out of evil; and we have a devout trust that, when the rain shall have descended, and the floods come, and the winds blown, and beat upon that house, it will be found to stand firm and immovable,—founded on that Rock against which the gates of hell and the perverseness of man never shall prevail. Meantime, may the friends of truth and liberty feel their responsibility and duty; and while they contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, earnestly, strenuously, perseveringly, may they do it in meekness and forbearance; showing by their temper and decency that they have learned of Jesus, and have felt the holy power of the truth which they advocate.

ART. VII. — *Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem in 1692.* By CHARLES W. UPHAM, Junior Pastor of the First Church in Salem. Boston. Carter, Hendee, & Babcock. 18mo. pp. 280.

WE are indebted to Mr. Upham, in these Lectures, for the clearest, most impartial, and satisfactory account of this memorable delusion, which as yet, we believe, has been given to the public. They were first delivered in substance before the Salem Lyceum, and afterwards repeated to some similar institutions in the vicinity. They will be numbered with the most valuable productions, which these excellent associations have called forth. The origin of this infatuation, perhaps the most remarkable in the history of man; its wide extent and antiquity, not limited, as some may have imagined, to Salem,

to New-England, or to the age in which in this country it chiefly appeared, but pervading various countries, at different periods, both in the ancient and modern world ; affecting not the illiterate and the vulgar only, usually most susceptible to the marvellous, but some of the wisest and best of the land ; the tremendous consequences it produced upon the reputation, fortunes, domestic and social comfort of multitudes, and the sacrifice of life to not a few, are all described, though briefly, yet accurately and impartially. 'It has been my object,' says the writer, 'to present only those facts, which are necessary to give a correct and adequate view of the transaction. And it has been my determination to set down nought in malice and to keep back nothing from partiality.' We count it no small part of the value of these Lectures, that this object has been faithfully kept in view ; so that the curious or the youthful inquirer, who has yet to learn the history of the Salem Witchcraft, may find it here exhibited, not with the loathsome and revolting details, which have found a place in the 'Magnalia' and some of the earlier records, but with historic truth, and especially with a just, philosophical, and charitable estimate of the various causes to which it may be ascribed ; the consideration of which, embracing, as in the second Lecture, the existence and influence of the same delusion from the beginning of the Christian era to the period in question, is essential to every one, who would avoid the injustice of a blind and indiscriminate condemnation of our fathers.

The causes, which produced and favored this delusion, are traced in general to the desponding state of the affairs of New England at the time of its commencement in 1692, and to the influence of certain theological sentiments, which pervaded the people. Of the former, the author particularly mentions the depression of commerce, the depredations of privateers upon the coast ; the exposure of the colony to the cruel hostility of the Indians ; the severe burden of taxes pressing upon the whole community, far exceeding in their proportion the burdens of the present day, and producing political jealousies and discontents ; and, finally, the loss by death and other causes of many of the leading citizens, especially of the 'patriarchs of Salem,' to whom the inhabitants had long been accustomed to look for wisdom and a salutary influence. While, of the latter causes, a sober and general belief,

that 'the evil being himself was in a special manner let loose, and permitted to descend upon them with unexampled fury,' was sufficient, independently of every external cause, to dispose men to the miserable superstitions and barbarities, that followed.

We must refer our readers to Mr. Upham's own pages for the narrative of this disgraceful, or rather let us say, this melancholy history. And even within the small compass of his book, we find ourselves anticipated in most of the reflexions, to which it might naturally give occasion. Notwithstanding, however, the multitude of absurd stories, that have been told of Witchcraft, and the familiar use of the terms employed in them, it is more than possible that some of our readers may be at a loss as to what is really intended by a *Witch*; nothing being more common than the use of words without any distinct idea attached to them. Mr. Upham, therefore, before entering upon the history, very properly explains what is meant, when it was said that people were *bewitched*.

'There are several words and expressions, that are sometimes used synonymously with *witch*, although they are not strictly synonymous. The following for instance, — *diviner, enchanter, charmer, conjurer, necromancer, fortune-teller, augur, sooth-sayer, and sorcerer*. None of these words conveys the same idea our ancestors attached to the word *witch*. *Witch* was sometimes specially used to signify a female, while *wizard* was exclusively applied to a male. The distinction was not often, however, attempted to be made, — the former title was prevailingly applied to either sex. A witch was regarded by our fathers, as a person who had made an actual, deliberate, and formal compact with Satan, by which compact it was agreed that she should become his faithful subject, and do what she could in promoting his cause, and, in consideration of this allegiance and service, he on his part agreed to exercise his supernatural powers in her favor, and communicate to her a portion of those powers. Thus a witch was considered in the light of a person who had transferred allegiance and worship from God to the Devil.

'The existence of this compact was supposed to confer great additional power on the Devil as well as on his new subject; for the doctrine seems to have prevailed, that for him to act with effect upon men, the intervention and instrumentality of human coöperation was necessary, and almost unlimited power was ascribed to the combined exertions of Satan, and those of the human species in league with him. A witch was believed to

have the power, through her compact with the Devil, of afflicting, distressing, and rending whomever she would. She could cause them to pine away and to suffer almost every description of pain and distress. She was also believed to possess the faculty of being present in her shape or apparition at a different place from that which her actual body occupied. Indeed, an almost indefinite amount of supernatural ability, and a great freedom and variety of methods for its exercise, were supposed to result from the diabolical compact. Those upon whom she exercised her malignant and mysterious energies, were said to be bewitched.' — pp. 17 – 19.

Now with this view of the nature of Witchcraft, implying, as will be seen, in its very foundation the existence and influence of a malignant rival being, acting independently and at pleasure upon the minds of men, and gaining for himself an allegiance and service, which sober views of religion teach us can be rendered only to God, — it must be regarded as the most astonishing circumstance attending the delusion, that it was not confined, as most superstitions are, to the weak and ignorant, but was entertained and defended by some of the purest and most gifted spirits of the age ; by men, from whom might be expected philosophic views upon every subject, and upon whom a community justly relies for sober and enlightened decisions. Civilians and magistrates, judges on the bench, and the executive officers of the law ; physicians in the exercise of their profession, and especially ministers, some of whom were of the highest reputation, were the dupes of this wretched infatuation. 'It was advocated,' says Mr. Upham, 'by the learning and philosophy, the science and prudence of the times.' 'It pervaded the whole civilized world and every profession and department of society.' And when we recollect, that it received the sanction of such as Sir Edward Coke and Sir Matthew Hale ; of Lord Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, and Sir William Blackstone ; of Baxter, Calamy, and Dr. Henry More ; that it was considered as worthy of the study of the most cultivated and liberal minds to discover and distinguish 'a true witch by proper trial and symptoms,' we ought not to be surprised, that it should obtain among our fathers. Or if, with our knowledge of the general good sense and moral excellence by which they were distinguished, we cannot escape astonishment, that so many were deluded, the remark of Dr. Bentley, quoted with approbation by

Mr. Upham, will appear no less charitable than just, that there is reason to believe, that 'all honorable men and good citizens would prefer to be considered as participating in the excitement, than as having been free from it and opposed to it, without ever daring to resist or check or reduce it.'

But though this palliation be admitted to a certain extent, it can by no means be regarded as a general and full justification. For the most revolting features in the whole history of this delusion are the fiend-like malignity and cruelty, which it seemed every where to have engendered; and which can scarcely be explained but by supposing there was a sincere, hearty conviction of the reality of the mischief. The connexion between superstition and cruelty has been often remarked. It has been traced in all forms of religion, under every system, Pagan or Christian, and never was it more clearly exhibited than at this very period. Men seemed to have lost their natures in prosecuting this war with the Devil; and to have thought it essential to the successful issue of the contest to assimilate themselves as far as possible to the enemy, with whom they were contending. Hence the readiness with which they could accuse, and the malice with which they pursued to imprisonment, torture, and death, some of the purest and most excellent of the land. They had no respect for childhood or old age; no pity for female weakness; no remembrance of a blameless and benevolent life to deter them; but appeared to act towards every accused person, as if they were engaged in a personal contest with Satan himself. All this was mingled, it is true, with a sincere zeal for religion, and indignation at the audacious attempts of the enemy of souls to overthrow the churches of Christ and to lead away captive his disciples. But, as Mr. Upham remarks,

'In baleful combination with principles, good in themselves, thus urging the passions into wild operation, there were all the wicked and violent affections to which humanity is liable. Theological bitterness, personal animosities, local controversies, private feuds, long cherished grudges, and professional jealousies, rushed forward, and raised their discordant voices, to swell the horrible din; credulity rose with its monstrous and ever expanding form, on the ruins of truth, reason, and the senses; malignity and cruelty rode triumphant through the storm, by whose fury every mild and gentle sentiment had been shipwrecked.'—p. 116.

In this cruelty and fanaticism it cannot be denied, that the

clergy took a prominent part. They seemed to think, that the cause was peculiarly theirs ; and that their profession called them to put on the armour against the prince of darkness. 'They took the lead,' says Mr. Upham, 'in the whole transaction. After the execution of the first person convicted and previous to the trial of the others, the government consulted the ministers of Boston and the vicinity, and they returned a positive and earnest recommendation to proceed in the good work.' This recommendation, as it afterwards appeared, was drawn up by Cotton Mather, who frequently took occasion to commend it, and in one of his subsequent writings even speaks of 'the gracious words' it contains. But it expressed the sentiments also of most of his brethren ; and the writer particularly adduces the Rev. Mr. Noyes, one of his predecessors in the First Church in Salem, justly celebrated in his life as among the most eminent ministers of the land, and honored at his death as 'a part of the glory of New England,' yet in his conduct in this affair affording a melancholy proof, 'that there is power in a popular delusion and a general excitement of the passions of the community to pervert the best of characters, turn the hearts even of good men to violence, and fill them with all manner of bitterness.'

This was deplorably true in relation to Dr. Cotton Mather, with less, we fear, to extenuate his error or to reconcile us to the course which he afterwards pursued. His name certainly appears in this, as in Calef's and some other histories of the day, under very doubtful aspects. After the delusion had past, and the fatal error was perceived, there was an earnest desire in Mr. Noyes and in almost every one else, to do all that was possible to repair it. We shall presently advert to some affecting examples of this nature. We wish we could discover the least evidence of the same generosity in Mather. We wish it, because we take no pleasure in calling up the frailties of a man, who has some unquestionable claims to respect, and whose learning and zeal to do good, however strangely mingled with his foibles, gave him eminence among the clergy of his times. And there are those, we doubt not, who would be ready, even at this day, to assent to the following very charitable view of him, given by the writer of these Lectures a few years since, in a sermon at the dedication of the First Church in Salem.*

* See note to this discourse, preached Nov. 16, 1826.

'Whatever may have been his imperfections or faults, I cannot refrain,' says Mr. Upham, 'from giving my feeble testimony to the learning and liberality of Cotton Mather. It may be, that his character as a historian receives at present a treatment altogether too harsh. It should be estimated with a constant reference to the age in which he lived. His extraordinary and admirable scholarship is frequently called pedantry. It is a pedantry beyond the reach of any one, whose mind has not been thoroughly imbued with the spirit and stored with the learning, which reside in the works of those great masters of the human intellect, who lived and wrote before Cotton Mather's day; a pedantry, highly honorable to the venerable University, which numbers him among her sons; a pedantry, which any Christian scholar might well strive to imitate.'

In this opinion of the Doctor's learning we can by no means concur; nor do we believe that the writer himself would now strenuously insist upon it. We refer to it however as an evidence, that it was with no prejudices against him, but rather with some excess of partiality in his favor, that Mr. Upham came to the investigation of the part which Mather bore in the delusions of the day. That it was in truth with reluctance, and only from the irresistible weight of evidence, that he was brought to different views of his character. We shall here adduce from the Lectures what relates immediately to Cotton Mather, and shall then enable our readers to judge for themselves, how far it is sustained by certain passages, we shall extract from the Doctor's private journal.

'In the year 1692, special efforts were made to renew the power of the spirit of the gospel in many of the churches. The motives of those who acted in these measures were for the most part of the purest and holiest character. But there were not wanting individuals who were willing to abuse the opportunities offered by the general excitement and awakening thus produced. It was soon discerned by those ambitious of spiritual influence and domination, that their object could be most easily achieved by carrying the people to the greatest extreme of credulity, fanaticism, and superstition.

'Opposition to prevailing vices, and attempts to reform society, were considered at that time in the light of a conflict with Satan himself, and he was thought to be the ablest minister, who had the greatest power over the great enemy, who could most easily and effectually avert his blows and counteract his baleful influence. Dr. Cotton Mather aspired to be considered the

great champion of the church, and the most successful combatant against "the prince of the power of the air." He seems to have longed for an opportunity to signalize himself in this particular kind of warfare; seized upon every occurrence that would admit of such a coloring to represent it as the result of diabolical agency; circulated in his numerous publications as many tales of witchcraft as he could collect throughout New and Old England, and repeatedly endeavoured to get up a delusion of this kind in Boston. He succeeded to some extent. An instance of witchcraft was brought about in that place by his management in 1688. There is some ground for suspicion that he was instrumental in causing the delusion in Salem; at any rate he took a leading part in conducting it. And while there is evidence that he endeavoured, after the delusion subsided, to escape the disgrace of having approved of the proceedings, and pretended to have been in some measure opposed to them, it can be too clearly shown that he was secretly and cunningly endeavouring to renew them during the next year in his own parish in Boston. I know nothing more artful and Jesuitical than his attempts to avoid the reproach of having been active in carrying on the delusion in Salem, and elsewhere, and, at the same time, to keep up such a degree of credulity and superstition in the minds of the people, as to render it easy to plunge them into it again at the first favorable moment. In the following passages he endeavours to escape the odium that had been connected with the prosecutions.

"The world knows how many pages I have composed and published, and particular gentlemen in the government know how many letters I have written to prevent the excessive credit of spectral accusations.

"In short, I do humbly but freely affirm it, that there is not a man living in this world who has been more desirous than the poor man I, to shelter my neighbours from the inconveniences of spectral outcries; yea, I am very jealous I have done so much that way, as to sin in what I have done; such have been the cowardice and fearfulness, whereunto my regard unto the dissatisfaction of other people has precipitated me. I know a man in the world, who has thought he has been able to convict some such witches as ought to die; but his respect unto the public peace has caused him rather to try whether he could not renew them by repentance." — pp. 105-109.

And again, after citing some sentences from Mather's published works, in which he endeavours to take the credit to himself of having doubted the propriety of the proceedings, and yet to commend himself to all who approved of them, 'like

an ambitious politician, anxious to have the support of all parties at the same time,' — Mr. Upham remarks ;

'From this latter passage it is clear that Dr. Mather contemplated the witchcraft delusion as having been the instrument in promoting a revival of religion, and was inclined to boast of the success with which it had been attended as such.

'I cannot, indeed, resist the conviction, that, notwithstanding all his attempts to appear dissatisfied, after they had become unpopular, with the occurrences in the Salem trials, he looked upon them with secret pleasure, and would have been glad to have had them repeated again in Boston.

'How blind is man to the future! The state of things which Cotton Mather labored to bring about, in order that he might increase his own influence over an infatuated people, by being regarded by them as mighty to cast out and vanquish evil spirits, and as able to hold Satan himself in chains by his prayers and his piety, brought him at length into such disgrace, that his power was broken down, and he became the object of public ridicule and open insult.' — pp. 113, 114.

Now to those of the present generation, who have heard of Cotton Mather only as a learned and reverend divine, the author of innumerable works, and a shining light of New England, it would be difficult to believe, that, for any cause or at any time, he was the object to his cotemporaries of open ridicule or dislike. And were it a question merely of his personal merits, unconnected with the history of the times, we should be in no wise solicitous to show it. But from his private journal, to which we have adverted, we must infer either that this was indeed the fact, and that he was well aware of the disesteem he had incurred, or else that a suspicious spirit, quickened by some inward consciousness of wrong, but strangely combined with the vanity that was also among his infirmities, led him to see things very differently from what they were. We may premise, that this private journal, for the use of which we are indebted to the courtesy of the gentleman in whose possession it is, has hitherto existed only in manuscript, and being wholly unknown to the author of these Lectures at the time of their publication, must be considered as an additional testimony, and independent of that on which he grounded his conclusions.

These passages, the reader will observe, are extracted from the manuscript diary of Dr. Mather, for the year 1724 ; at which period he was sixty-two years of age. They are thus prefaced :

‘Dark dispensations, but light arising in darkness.’

‘It may be of some use to me to observe some very dark dispensations, wherein the recompense of my poor essays at well-doing in this life seem to look a little discouraging; and then to express the triumph of my faith over such and all discouragements.

‘Of the things that look dark, I may touch of *twice seven* instances.’

A part of these, on account of their too personal or domestic nature, we omit.

‘1. What has a gracious Lord helped me to do for the *seafaring tribe*, in prayers for them, in sermons to them, in books bestowed upon them, and in various projections and endeavours to render the sailors a happy generation? And yet, there is not a man in the world, so reviled, so slandered, so cursed among sailors.

‘2. What has a gracious Lord helped me to do for the instruction and salvation and comfort of the poor Negroes? And yet, some on purpose to affront me call their Negroes by the name of COTTON MATHER, that so they may, with some shadow of truth, assert crimes as committed by one of that name, which the hearers take to be *Me*.

‘3. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the profit and honor of the Female Sex? especially in publishing the virtuous and laudable characters of holy women. And yet, where is the man, whom the Female Sex have spit more of their venom at? I have cause to question, whether there are twice ten in the town, but what have at some time or other, spoken *basely* of me.

‘4. What has a gracious Lord given me to do, that I may be a blessing to my relatives? I keep a catalogue of them, and not a week passes me without some good devised for some or other of them, till I have taken all of them under my cognizance. And yet, where is the man, who has been so tormented with such *monstrous* relatives? Job said, “*I am a brother to dragons.*”

‘5. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the vindication and reputation of the Scottish nation? And yet, no Englishman has been so vilified by the tongues and pens of Scotts as I have been.

‘6. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the good of the country? in applications without number for it in all its interests, besides publications of things useful to it and for it. And yet, there is no man whom the country so loads with dis-

respect, and calumnies, and manifold expressions of aversion.

'7. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the upholding of the Government and the strengthening of it, and the bespeaking of regards unto it? And yet, the discountenance I have almost perpetually received from the government! Yea, the indecencies and indignities, which it has multiplied upon me, are such as no other man has been treated with.

'8. What has a gracious Lord given me to do, that the COLLEGE may be owned for the bringing forth such as are somewhat known in the world, and have read and wrote as much as many have done in other places? And yet, the college for ever puts all possible marks of disesteem upon me. If I were the greatest blockhead that ever came from it, or the greatest blemish that ever came to it, they could not easily show me more contempt than they do.

'9. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the study of a *profitable conversation*? For nearly fifty years together, I have hardly ever gone into any company, or had any coming to me, without some explicit contrivance to speak something or other, that they might be the wiser or the better for. And yet, my company is as little sought for, and there is as little resort unto it, as any minister that I am acquainted with.

'10. What has a gracious Lord given me to do in *good offices*, wherever I could find opportunities for the doing of them? I for ever entertain them with alacrity. I have offered pecuniary recompenses to such as would advise me of them. And yet, I see no man for whom all are so loth to do good offices. Indeed I find some cordial friends, *but how few!* Often have I said, What would I give if there were any one man in the world to do for me what I am willing to do for every man in the world!

'11. What has a gracious Lord given me to do in the writing of many books for the advancing of piety and the promoting of his kingdom! There are, I suppose, more than 300 of them. And yet, I have had more books written against me; more pamphlets to traduce and reproach me, and bely me, than any man I know in the world.

'12. What has a gracious Lord given me to do in a variety of *services*? For many lustres of years not a day has passed me, without some devices, even written devices, to be serviceable. And yet, my sufferings! They seem to be (as in reason they should be) more than my services. Every body points at me, and speak of me as by far the most afflicted minister in all New England. And many look on me as the greatest sinner, because the greatest sufferer; and are pretty arbitrary in their conjectures upon my punished miscarriages.'

In addition to this, and easily connected with other traits of character already developed, we may observe the Doctor's chagrin and mortified ambition in the manner in which he notes in his diary the death of President Leverett, and his own expectations, so bitterly disappointed, of being chosen his successor.

Our readers need not be informed, that Judge Leverett was one of the most able and acceptable Presidents, that Harvard College ever possessed. 'He maintained all his posts,' say Eliot in his Biography, 'with dignity, integrity, and the applause of the people.' Yet Mather thus writes;

'*Diary, May 7, 1724.* — The sudden death of the unhappy man, who sustained the place of President in our college, will open a door for my doing singular services in the best of interests. I do not know, that the care of the College will now be cast upon me; though I am told that it is what is most generally wished for. If it should be, I shall be in abundance of distress about it; but if it should not, yet I may do many things for the good of the college more quietly and more hopefully than formerly.

'*June 5.* The college is in great hazard of dissipation and grievous destruction and confusion. My advice to some that have some influence on the public, may be seasonable.

'*July 1, 1724.* This day being our *insipid, ill-contrived anniversary*, which we call the *commencement*, I chose to spend it at home in supplications, partly on the behalf of the College, that it may not be foolishly thrown away, but that God may bestow such a President upon it as may prove a rich blessing unto it and unto all our churches.'

Now, from this strange document, two things may be inferred. Either Dr. Mather had real cause for his griefs, and notwithstanding all the virtues and services he so vainly estimates, — an estimate probably much beyond the impartial judgment of others, — he was, in fact, as we are told, 'the object of ridicule and insult.' Or else, we repeat, we have before us in his own diary, an example of a miserable vanity coupled with jealousy, thinking most extravagantly of self, and not less mean and unreasonable in distrusting others. In the former case, we are left to wonder at the self-deception which prevented his seeing, in the odium to which his conduct had subjected him, only a just retribution and a call to humiliation; and in the other, supposing his disgrace to have been

merely imaginary, the creation of his own jealousy, here is a melancholy instance, not however uncommon, of a man in the actual possession of a good reputation, and on the whole not without his claims to enjoy it, rendering himself wretched by the diseased workings of his pride and suspicion.

We believe, that of these alternatives the former is to be taken; and that this journal is a satisfactory evidence, that the artful, ambitious course pursued by Dr. Mather was understood by the public, and had actually brought upon him the odium he deserved, precisely as Mr. Upham has described. But even all this might have been overcome and forgotten, had he not afterwards persisted in his selfish, crooked policy; or had he discovered, as did others, any sincerity of sorrow for the evils, to which his influence had so essentially contributed.

We turn with eagerness from this unpleasant topic to another, far more satisfactory, and which is in truth almost the only point in this sad history, on which it is not painful to dwell. We have already adverted to the deep regrets and anxious desires to repair, as far as possible, the wrongs which were generally felt to have been done, after the delusion had passed away. It was indeed a fearful retrospection. Irreparable mischiefs had been committed. Innocent lives had been sacrificed; the fairest reputations had been assailed; and, in multiplied instances, there had been a total wreck of domestic and social peace. The remembrance was hardly less dreadful than the calamity itself. For, in the words of the poet,

‘When passion’s gone, and reason’s on her throne,
Amazed we see the mischief we have done.
So, when the storm is o’er, and winds are laid,
The calm sea wonders at the wreck it made.’

But ‘human virtue,’ as our author finely expresses it, ‘never shines with more lustre, than when it rises amidst the imperfections, or from the ruins of our nature, arrays itself in the robes of penitence, and goes forth with earnest and humble sincerity to the work of reformation and restitution. Such virtue did our pious ancestors exhibit, when the spell that had bound and perverted them was broken.’ And as our Saviour promised concerning his affectionate disciple, it shall be told for a memorial of this people, ‘that they did what they could.’

‘It seems,’ says Mr. Upham, ‘that the community could not recover from a sense of the injury it had inflicted upon

the innocent.' He mentions a resolution unanimously adopted by the General Court, nearly fifty years afterwards, for the appointment of a committee to make inquiry into the condition and circumstances of individuals and families, that might have suffered from the 'calamity of 1692'; and that there was a strong desire expressed to compensate them, either by money or by a township of land. He speaks of the inhabitants of Salem as doing the utmost in their power in the way of reparation; and borrows from Dr. Bentley the following touching account of the penitent and generous conduct exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Noyes, who had been active beyond most others in the work of destruction.

'Mr. Noyes came out and publicly confessed his error; never concealed a circumstance; never excused himself; visited, loved, blessed the survivors, whom he had injured; asked forgiveness always, and consecrated the residue of his life to bless mankind.'

It is unusual to find bodies of men uniting, in their official capacity, in an act of special penitence. Yet this was done in the most humble manner by the Twelve Jurors, upon whose verdict many of the unhappy victims had been condemned. In a declaration signed with the names of all of them, they exhibit the utmost tenderness of conscience, and ask forgiveness of God and men in terms of humility, that might disarm the anger of a demon.

'We hereby signify to all in general (and to the surviving sufferers in special) our deep sense of, and sorrow for, our errors, in acting on such evidence to the condemning of any person; and do hereby declare, that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken; for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds; and do therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God, for Christ's sake, for this our error; and pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourselves, nor others; and we also pray that we may be considered candidly, and aright by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that nature.

'We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended; and do declare, according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again, on such grounds, for the whole world.' — p. 128.

And though we have dwelt so long upon this subject, loving to linger on this only fair spot in a region of desolation, we

cannot refrain from quoting the eloquent and beautiful tribute, which Mr. Upham pays to Judge Sewall in the conclusion of the first Lecture, both as an exhibition of moral grandeur, and of the power of real goodness to overcome the evils of a temporary delusion.

‘The conduct of Judge Sewall claims our particular admiration. He observed annually in private a day of humiliation and prayer, during the remainder of his life, to keep fresh in his mind a sense of repentance and sorrow for the part he bore in the trials. On the day of the general fast, he rose in the place where he was accustomed to worship, the Old South in Boston, and, in the presence of the great assembly, handed up to the pulpit a written confession, acknowledging the error into which he had been led, praying for the forgiveness of God and his people, and concluding with a request to all the congregation to unite with him in devout supplication, that it might not bring down the displeasure of the Most High upon his country, his family, or himself. He remained standing during the public reading of the paper.’ * * *

‘There never was a more striking and complete fulfilment of the Apostolic assurance, that the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, than in this instance. God has been pleased in a remarkable manner to save and bless New England. The favor of heaven was bestowed upon Judge Sewall during the remainder of his life. He presided for many years on the very bench where he committed the error so sincerely deplored by him, and was regarded by all as a benefactor, an ornament, and a blessing to his generation. While his family have enjoyed to a high degree the protection of Providence from that day to this, they have adorned every profession, and every department of society; they have occupied the most elevated stations, have graced in successive generations the same lofty seat their ancestor occupied, have been the objects of the confidence, respect, and love of their fellow citizens, and in this vicinity, their name is associated with all that is excellent in the memory of the past, and the observation of the present.

‘Your thoughts, my friends, have been led in the course of this lecture, through scenes of the most distressing and revolting character. I leave before your imaginations one that is bright with all the beauty of Christian virtue. In the picture that exhibits Judge Sewall standing forth in the house of his God and in the presence of his fellow-worshippers, making a public declaration of his sorrow and regret for the mistaken judgment he had coöperated with others in pronouncing, and

praying that it might be forgiven, — that it might not be followed by evil consequences to himself, his family, or his country; in this picture you have a representation of a truly great and magnanimous spirit, a spirit to which the divine influence of our religion had given an expansion and a lustre, that Roman or Grecian virtue never knew; a spirit that had achieved a greater victory than warrior ever won, a victory over itself; a spirit so noble and so pure that it felt no shame in acknowledging an error, and no humiliation in atoning for an injury. If the contemplation of this bright example shall have imparted a glow of emulation to your hearts, your patience in listening, I am sure, will not go unrewarded.' — pp. 129 – 132.

In taking a survey of this dark period in the history of our land, it seems but reasonable, so far at least as relates to the delusion itself, to number it with those 'times of ignorance,' which as in compassion for Pagan darkness, the Apostle tells us, 'God winked at.' And considering the bitter contrition, that followed, in which the judges and the accusers, the magistrates and the clergy alike partook, we may believe what is recorded of the penitent Israelites after a season of general reformation, that 'their cry went up to the holy place, and the Lord hearkened and healed the people.' But our wonder at the extent of this delusion of our ancestors will be greatly diminished, when we remember, — what indeed must never be overlooked in any impartial view of these times, — that it was a delusion they shared with all ages and all nations, not only before but after them. And here, did our limits permit, we should gladly follow Mr. Upham in the interesting and instructive view of this subject, which chiefly occupies his Second Lecture. The reader may find there collected a multitude of curious and authentic facts, which will well reward his attention. Sir Walter Scott, in his work on *Demonology*, has also brought together from the vast stores of his reading a yet greater variety; but they are less skilfully arranged, and not sufficiently distinguished from the legends and tales of romance, in which that celebrated writer delights, to furnish the same valuable instruction. In the brief and judicious summary of Mr. Upham, we see, that from the days of the Witch of Endor, through the fabulous periods of heathen antiquity to the commencement of the Christian era, and thence amidst the superstitions of the Romish Church, and under the influence of the perverted 'doctrine of devils,' almost to the present time, there have never been wanting

believers in witchcraft, or victims to its delusion. The number of these victims in Europe, at various periods, far exceeded, as did the spirit of persecution, any thing known or imagined in this country, in which, from the beginning to the end of the fanaticism, only twenty persons were actually put to death.* But in 1484, after Pope Innocent the Eighth had issued his bull for the punishment of persons suspected of witchcraft, multitudes became its victims. 'Forty-one aged females,' says Mr. Upham, 'were consigned to the flames in one nation, and, not long after, one hundred were burned in the devoted valleys of Piedmont; forty-eight were burned in Ravensburg in five years; and in the year 1515, five hundred were burned at Geneva, in three months!'—'In 1576, seventeen or eighteen were condemned in Essex, in England,' while in France, it is affirmed, though the authority is not given, that 'a single judge, Remigius, condemned and burned nine hundred within fifteen years, from 1580 to 1595, in the single district of Lorraine; and as many more fled out of the country' to escape the fury of the persecution, so that 'whole villages were depopulated.' 'During the whole of the sixteenth century,' adds our author, 'there were executions for witchcraft in all civilized countries. More than two hundred were hanged in England;' 'several only a few years before the proceedings commenced in Salem;' but, it is worthy of remark, 'a considerable number in various parts of Great Britain some years after the prosecutions had entirely ceased in America.'

It has been said, that the first impulse to the prosecution of witchcraft in this country was given by certain passages selected and studiously circulated from the works of Richard Baxter. There is no doubt of his firm faith in the doctrine. Mr. Upham states, that he wrote his book, entitled 'The Certainty of the World of Spirits,' for the special purpose

* To those of our readers, who may not have read these Lectures, the following summary, given by Mr. Upham, of the exact extent of this calamity will be acceptable.

'During the prevalence of this fanaticism, twenty persons lost their lives by the hand of the executioner;'—'most of these persons were advanced in years, and many of them left large families of children;'—eight, whose names and places of residence are also given, 'were condemned to death, but did not suffer. Besides these, fifty-five persons escaped death by confessing themselves guilty, one hundred and fifty were in prison, and more than two hundred others were accused.' pp. 34, 35.

of confirming and diffusing the belief; and that he kept up a correspondence with the Mathers, both the father and son, stimulating and encouraging them in their proceedings against certain witches in Boston. We have also been told, on an authority entitled to respect, that the first effectual step to the checking of this delusion was the influence of an opinion of the excellent Dr. Edmund Calamy, who, alarmed at the dreadful extent to which the persecutions were carried, expressed his belief, that 'it was possible even for good men to be bewitched.'

That good men, even the greatest and the best, may be deluded, the whole history we have been considering is one continued proof. And if in these imperfect remarks we have found ourselves compelled, however reluctantly, to concur with the writer in his censures of one so prominent as was Dr. Mather, it is not because he was deceived, for almost all others were deceived with him; or because he was urgent for measures, from which few had the wisdom or the courage to dissent; * but because he was willing to convert a general delusion into an instrument of selfish ambition; and because, after the delusion had past, and the injustice and cruelty of the whole proceedings were manifest, he neither seemed to repent of them, nor to share in the general solicitude to atone for them.

To us of the present day it may seem impossible, that such a delusion could again prevail; or that, even if it should, it could be followed by such bitter persecutions on the one hand, or, on the other, by such appalling sufferings. Happily the advancing lights of philosophy and of religion leave us to good hopes. The phenomena of the physical world have been so fully explained, that what was once mysterious, or was ascribed to preternatural influences, is now easily understood,

* Among the very few, who have vindicated their claims to this distinction, by publicly maintaining their dissent at the time, Mr. Upham mentions with deserved respect the truly revered and learned Samuel Willard, of the Old South in Boston, author of the 'Body of Divinity,' and one of the most esteemed ministers of his times; and Major Saltonstall, who publicly expressed his disapprobation by retiring from his seat on the bench. This noble conduct, however, was maintained at fearful hazards; for the accusers repeatedly cried out upon Mr. Willard, and seemed to experience a fiend-like satisfaction in the thought of bringing infamy and death upon the best and most honored citizens of the colonies. See *Lectures*, p. 31.

as among the familiar operations of nature. The 'doctrine of Devils,' also, if it still exists in its earlier forms, is stripped of most of its absurdities; and though men may not yet be ready to admit, what beyond all comparison is the most alarming truth, that within their own hearts, even their sinful and cherished lusts, are the 'Satans' of their own creation, whom they have most to dread; — yet they have ceased to invest the prince of darkness with a rival sovereignty, believing that the spirits are in subjection to the Father of spirits, and that the devils also believe and tremble.

But though we may not apprehend the same delusions, it were presumptuous indeed to expect freedom from all others. The sources of error remain, though the particular forms of it may change. They are constantly varying with the changes of society. If there is a fanaticism of superstition, let it not be forgotten, that there is also the fanaticism of unbelief; and we have recently seen it asserted, what only the fool can say in his heart, that the faith of the existence of a God can exert no good influence on the virtue or happiness of men. Who can question too, that the same love of the marvellous, the same indulgence of an uncontrolled imagination, or even of a perverted curiosity; the same passion for power in ministers or in rulers; the same readiness to turn popular excitements into instruments of personal advancement, may produce at this day evils not less deplorable than those, which in the days of our fathers seemed the fruit only of religious fanaticism? It is the improvement we should make of this history, and it is among the sound practical instructions which the writer himself deduces from it, and enforces with the eloquence of conviction, that there is no safety, but in simple truth; — that when men suffer their imaginations to usurp the place of reason, or their passions to be inflamed by sympathy, especially by that most dangerous form of it, party spirit, they may 'work a work,' which, in its consequences to themselves or to others, they 'would not believe, though a man should tell it them.' The history of the present day, not less in its secular than in its religious fervors, affords, we fear, but too exact an illustration of all this. The spirit of witchcraft is abroad in its furious zeal, in its obtrusive inquisitions, and its stern denunciations. It assumes to itself to try the spirits, and according to its own standard to pronounce men friends or enemies of order, justice, and the

laws. 'Its leading features,' says Mr. Upham, whose remarks, though written before the full developement of the transactions to which we refer, are so excellent, that we adopt them as the best possible expression of our meaning, — 'its leading features and most striking aspects have been repeated in places, where witches and the interference of supernatural beings are never thought of. For whenever a community gives way to its passions and spurns the admonitions and casts off the restraints of reason, there is a delusion, that can hardly be described in any other phrase. We cannot glance our eye over the face of our country without beholding such scenes; and so long as they are exhibited, so long as we permit ourselves to invest objects of little or no real importance with such an inordinate imaginary interest, that we are ready to go to every extremity rather than relinquish them, we are following in the footsteps of our fanatical ancestors. It would be wiser to direct our ridicule and reproaches to the delusions of our own times, rather than to those of a previous age; and it becomes us to treat with charity and mercy, the failings of our predecessors, at least until we have ceased to repeat and imitate them.'

ART. VIII. — *Travels in Malta and Sicily, with Sketches of Gibraltar in 1827.* By ANDREW BIGELOW, Author of 'Leaves from a Journal in North Britain and Ireland.' Boston. 1831. Carter, Hendee, & Babcock. 8vo. pp. 550.

THERE are no books, the rapid multiplication of which is to be regarded with so much forbearance, as books of travels. The face of things, the manners, customs, and institutions in many countries in Europe and South America have been changed so frequently and materially, during the last thirty or forty years, that it is only from the recent traveller we can learn their present condition. It is an advantage, also, when we can avail ourselves of the observations and researches in foreign countries of one who has been brought up among us; partly because he will be curious in those matters which, from similarity of education and circumstances, will be most likely to interest us, and partly because his comparisons and

illustrations will generally be borrowed from places and events, with which we are familiar. Mr. Bigelow has travelled before, and is favorably known to the public by his work on North Britain and Ireland, which was in such esteem abroad as to be reprinted in Edinburgh, and noticed and praised in several of the English periodical journals. His style in this as well as in his former publications is marked by a glow of patriotism, and of sincere and rational piety, which must give the work a peculiar attraction to the religiously disposed, at the same time that his various information, and the literary merit of the narrative portions, must gratify the scholar and general reader. In the more ornate and ambitious passages we do not think Mr. Bigelow equally happy. He has also committed the serious error of making his book too large, an error the less excusable, because it has arisen, for the most part, from his introducing irrelevant matter, sometimes of too private or personal a nature, which it would have been better on every account to omit. We hope that in this book-making age it will soon be universally adopted as a canon of criticism in regard to books of travels, that the writer shall confine himself strictly and religiously to what has passed under his own observation.

Mr. Bigelow sailed from Boston, November 28, 1826, and landed at Gibraltar after a voyage of forty days, on the incidents of which he dwells with more particularity than was necessary. Here he stayed about two weeks, and his description of this celebrated fortress is one of the fullest and most graphic which we have seen. Passing up the Mediterranean, he arrived, February 1st, at La Valetta, in Malta, where he resided for more than a month, and appears to have occupied himself most industriously in studying the character, habits, and institutions of the people. Thence, March 8th, he sailed for Sicily, and visited the most remarkable places on that island, of some of which, particularly of Dionysius's Ear and Mount *Ætna*, he has given us not only a full description, but careful and accurate drawings and charts. His journal closes, March 25th, on quitting the harbour of Messina for Naples.

The following account of the Maltese clergy presents a favorable specimen of Mr. Bigelow's success in light and humorous description.

'As for the priests themselves, their number is "Legion, for

it is many." I meet them at every turn; I mean, including the friars, — black, white, and gray. I know it is common to rail against this order of men as being a race of gourmands; yet it is not for the sake of joining in an idle cry, but of testifying to impressions gathered by my own eyes, when I assert, that a better conditioned set of persons I never beheld. Their fat, sleek visages, and plump, well-fed frames betoken, that whatever becomes of others, they take good care of themselves. I have seen them of all ages, from fourscore years down to four; for even children are dedicated to the priesthood, and once dedicated, they wear the self-same garb in shape and color as do their superiors in years.

A more whimsical dress than this professional costume, when put upon boys and striplings, can hardly be conceived. It consists of a large cocked or three-cornered hat, the brim of which is unusually broad, — a full skirted coat, ornamented with a single row of buttons, and made rounding from the waist downwards, like a Quaker's, — a long, old-fashioned vest, buttoned to the chin, — tight small-clothes and black hose, silk or worsted, — shoes high on the instep, with monstrous buckles, — a black leathern stock about the neck, and over it a frill of white lawn made to lap close. In cold or wet weather a black cover-all, something like the cloaks of the old Puritan clergy of New England, is added. The heads of these clerical sprigs are partly shaved, in imitation of their seniors.

It is not without a smile that such figures are seen brushing through the streets. To call them priestlings would be by no means a sufficient diminutive. They are Tom Thumbs in ecclesiastical livery, and can scarcely be distinguished sometimes as they move along under their broad-spreading equilaterals. Their appearance is certainly a burlesque on the Catholic priesthood.

There are several grades, however, for these "babes and sucklings" to pass through, ere they are formally fraternized. At sundry periods of life, — as for instance ten, fifteen, eighteen, or twenty-one years of age, — they are interrogated and examined afresh in respect to their ultimate purpose; and if dissatisfied with the choice made for them by their parents, they are at liberty, on coming to their majority, to withdraw from the clerical ranks. But this seldom happens. I cannot find, on careful inquiry, that they are taught much; certainly, very little of useful knowledge. I express but the sober sense of intelligent lay Catholics themselves, when I say that, in general, the priests, young and old, are scandalously ignorant. They pick up a smattering of Latin, and are taught the drill

of church forms and ministrations. A little of scholastic divinity and some scraps of ecclesiastical history are then ground into them ; and they are turned out for the service of the altar.' — pp. 129, 130.

Of the prospects of the missionary cause in the Levant Mr. Bigelow speaks with candor and sobriety. At Malta he says ;

'The American missionary on the island, — who is a sensible man of undoubted piety, and whose worth I am happy in publicly acknowledging, — has applied himself industriously to his vocation. It consists in aiding the translation of Tracts, chiefly into Italian, in concert with an intelligent native Maltese, — overseeing the printing and subsequent disposal of them, — and occasionally preaching to a small society of dissenting Protestants in connexion with a worthy pastor of the Methodist persuasion. The printing-office is in his own house ; the mechanical duties of which have been in charge of another American ; but as he is about returning to the United States, they will devolve on a Maltese already trained for that purpose. Mr. T —, the missionary to whom I have alluded, has resided here five years, having never joined his brethren on the Palestine station settled at Beirout. During this period he has printed about seventy Tracts, averaging a thousand copies each. They are well executed, and done up with neat covers, the object being to make them as attractive in appearance as may be, with a due regard to economy. The cheapness of the work is surprising ; as the general cost, — including translating, paper, ink, printing, and binding, — does not much exceed one mill a page ; or about ten pages are afforded for a ha'penny. A few of the Tracts are printed in Romaic. It gave me pleasure to see in the American Repository that invaluable little treatise, Scougal's "Life of God in the Soul of Man," in its Grecian dress, just ready to be introduced to the natives of the Archipelago.' — pp. 200, 201.

Again he says ;

'There is a species of romance which attaches itself, in certain minds, to the contemplation of the efforts and endurances of a foreign missionary. But let me tell them, there is no romance in the actual trial. If a missionary comes to the Levant, however high-blown his previous expectations, his enthusiasm would soon cool. I have talked with gentlemen here, and they speak very rationally and dispassionately on the subject. Theirs is a sober mood. They toil on, — patiently toil, — but with a damp on their spirits. Apart from the labors of the

press, they have not made above a score of converts to their views of Christianity, by oral and pulpit instruction, out of all the crowded population of Malta; and those converts are almost to a man from the Catholic classes.' — pp. 204, 205.

Mr Bigelow, in the Preface, undertakes to vindicate the frequent and general censures, which he finds occasion to pass on the Catholic Church, and the English nation or government. Doubtless there is much weight in some of his suggestions, but still, in regard to the Catholics, it is perfectly fair, as it seems to us, that they should insist on our making a distinction between the policy which has been connected with their church in different ages and countries, and the church itself. So, too, in regard to the measures of the English government respecting their distant dependencies, it is clear that a stay of a few days in a strange land will not enable the most astute and sagacious observer to ascertain the practicability or expediency of reformatory measures, which may strike him, at first sight, as easy and all-important. On this subject it is only necessary to recollect the feelings with which every body in this country reads the hasty criticisms and strictures of the British tourists on our own customs and institutions. It would be doing Mr. Bigelow injustice, however, to compare his work with theirs in this respect. But little is here known of the present condition of the interesting places visited by him; and for this reason, as well as for the general ability and fidelity of his book, notwithstanding occasional blemishes, we presume and hope that it will find its way into extensive circulation.

ART. IX. — *Thoughts on Man, his Nature, Productions, and Discoveries. Interspersed with some Particulars respecting the Author.* By WILLIAM GODWIN. London. 1831. 8vo. pp. 479.

MR. GODWIN's answer to Malthus, which appeared in 1820, and still more recently his 'History of the Commonwealth,' have not sustained the reputation which he acquired early in life, as the author of an 'Enquiry concerning Political Justice,' and of some philosophical novels. We took up his 'Thoughts

on Man,' therefore, with small expectations ; but these, we are bound to say, have been more than answered. Many of the Essays are ingenious and interesting ; a good spirit pervades the work ; and there are fewer passages than in any of his former writings, which need give offence to the friends of religion and a pure and strict morality. On some subjects, indeed, his testimony is more valuable for the very reason, that it may be regarded almost in the light of a confession wrung from the adverse party.

In his Preface he says ;

'In the ensuing volume I have attempted to give a defined and permanent form to a variety of thoughts, which have occurred to my mind in the course of thirty-four years, it being so long since I published a volume, entitled, "*The Enquirer*,"—thoughts, which, if they have presented themselves to other men, have, at least, so far as I am aware, never been given to the public through the medium of the press. During a part of this period I had remained to a considerable degree unoccupied in my character of an author, and had delivered little to the press that bore my name.—And I beg the reader to believe, that, since I entered, in 1791, upon that which may be considered as my vocation in life, I have scarcely in any instance contributed a page to any periodical miscellany.'—p. iii.

The work consists of twenty-three Essays on the following topics : Of Body and Mind,—The Prologue. Of the Distribution of Talents. Of Intellectual Abortion. Of the Durability of Human Achievements and Productions. Of the Rebelliousness of Man. Of Human Innocence. Of the Duration of Human Life. Of Human Vegetation. Of Leisure. Of Imitation and Invention. Of Self-Love and Benevolence. Of the Liberty of Human Actions. Of Belief. Of Youth and Age. Of Love and Friendship. Of Frankness and Reserve. Of Ballot. Of Diffidence. Of Self-Complacency. Of Phrenology. Of Astronomy. Of the Material Universe. Of Human Virtue,—The Epilogue. On such subjects the intelligent reader, notwithstanding the somewhat boastful declaration in the Preface, will not of course expect much that is, strictly speaking, original. All that we can do is to give a few passages, which seem to us to have the best claims to that character, or to be peculiarly interesting or valuable for other reasons.

The following remarks on education are just, and happily expressed.

‘In the first place, as has been already observed, it is the most difficult thing in the world for the schoolmaster to inspire into his pupil the desire to do his best. An overwhelming majority of lads at school are in their secret hearts rebels to the discipline under which they are placed. The instructor draws one way, and the pupil another. The object of the latter is to find out how he may escape censure and punishment with the smallest expense of scholastic application. He looks at the task that is set him, without the most distant desire of improvement, but with alienated and averted eye. And, where this is the case, the wonder is not that he does not make a brilliant figure. It is rather an evidence of the slavish and subservient spirit incident to the majority of human beings, that he learns any thing. Certainly the schoolmaster, who judges of the powers of his pupil’s mind by the progress he makes in what he would most gladly be excused from learning, must be expected perpetually to fall into the most egregious mistakes.

‘The true test of the capacity of the individual, is where the desire to succeed, and accomplish something effective, is already awakened in the youthful mind. Whoever has found out what it is in which he is qualified to excel, from that moment becomes a new creature. The general torpor and sleep of the soul, which is incident to the vast multitude of the human species, is departed from him. We begin, from the hour in which our limbs are enabled to exert themselves freely, with a puerile love of sport. Amusement is the order of the day. But no one was ever so fond of play, that he had not also his serious moments. Every human creature perhaps is sensible to the stimulus of ambition. He is delighted with the thought that he also shall be somebody, and not a mere undistinguished pawn, destined to fill up a square in the chess-board of human society. He wishes to be thought something of, and to be gazed upon. Nor is it merely the wish to be admired that excites him: he acts, that he may be satisfied with himself. Self-respect is a sentiment dear to every heart. The emotion can with difficulty be done justice to, that a man feels, who is conscious that he is breathing his true element, that every stroke that he strikes will have the effect he designs, that he has an object before him, and every moment approaches nearer to that object. Before, he was wrapped in an opaque cloud, saw nothing distinctly, and struck this way and that at hazard like a blind man. But now the sun of understanding

has risen upon him; and every step that he takes, he advances with an assured and undoubting confidence.

'It is an admirable remark, that the book which we read at the very time that we felt a desire to read it, affords us ten times the improvement, that we should have derived from it when it was taken up by us as a task. It is just so with the man who chooses his occupation, and feels assured that that about which he is occupied is his true and native field. Compare this person with the boy that studies the classics, or arithmetic, or any thing else, with a secret disinclination, and, as Shakespear expresses it, "creeps like snail, unwillingly, to school." They do not seem as if they belonged to the same species.' — pp. 34 – 36.

In the Essay on Intellectual Abortion there are many striking observations, from which, however, we can give but a single extract.

'Others there are that are turned aside from the career they might have accomplished, by a visionary and impracticable fastidiousness. They can find nothing that possesses all the requisites that should fix their choice, nothing so good that should authorize them to present it to public observation, and enable them to offer it to their contemporaries as something that we should "not willingly let die." They begin often; but nothing they produce appears to them such as that they should say of it, "Let this stand." Or they never begin, none of their thoughts being judged by them to be altogether such as to merit the being preserved. They have a microscopic eye, and discern faults unworthy to be tolerated, in that in which the critic himself might perceive nothing but beauty.

'These phenomena have introduced a maxim which is current with many, that the men who write nothing, and bequeath no record of themselves to posterity, are not unfrequently of larger *calibre*, and more gigantic standard of soul, than such as have inscribed their names upon the columns of the temple of Fame. And certain it is, that there are extraordinary instances which appear in some degree to countenance this assertion. Many men are remembered as authors, who seem to have owed the permanence of their reputation rather to fortune than merit. They were daring, and stepped into a niche that was left in the gallery of art or of science, where others of higher qualifications, but of unconquerable modesty, held back. At the same time persons, whose destiny caused them to live among the *élite* of an age, have seen reason to confess that they have heard such talk, such glorious and unpremeditated discourse, from men whose thoughts melted away with

the breath that uttered them, as the wisest of their vaunted contemporary authors would in vain have sought to rival.' — 62-64.

We were surprised to find Mr. Godwin differing from the popular party in his own country on the subject of Ballot, and opposing it on grounds which must strike every one, we should think, as weak and fallacious. In the *Essay on the Material Universe*, he combats with better success the theory of those who contend, that Berkeley's argument to disprove the existence of material objects, may be applied with equal force to disprove the existence of independent minds.

'Observe then,' he says, 'the difference between my acquaintance with the phenomena of the material universe, and with the individuals of my own species. The former say nothing to me; they are a series of events and no more; I cannot penetrate into their causes; that which gives rise to my sensations, may or may not be similar to the sensations themselves. The follower of Berkeley or Newton has satisfied himself in the negative.

'But the case is very different in my intercourse with my fellow-men. Agreeably to the statement already made, I know the reality of human nature; for I feel the particulars that constitute it within myself. The impressions I receive from that intercourse say something to me; for they talk to me of beings like myself. My own existence becomes multiplied in *infinitum*. Of the possibility of matter I know nothing; but with the possibility of mind I am acquainted; for I am myself an example. I am amazed at the consistency and systematic succession of the phenomena of the material universe; though I cannot penetrate the veil which presents itself to my grosser sense, nor see effects in their causes. But I can see, in other words, I have the most cogent reasons to believe in, the causes of the phenomena that occur in my apparent intercourse with my fellow-men. What solution so natural, as that they are produced by beings like myself, the duplicates, with certain variations, of what I feel within me?

'The belief in the reality of matter explains nothing. Supposing it to exist, if Newton is right, no particle of extraneous matter ever touched the matter of my body; and therefore it is not just to regard it as the cause of my sensations. It would amount to no more than two systems going on at the same time by a preëstablished harmony, but totally independent of and disjointed from each other.

'But the belief in the existence of our fellow-men explains much. It makes level before us the wonder of the method of

their proceedings, and affords an obvious reason why they should be in so many respects like our own. If I dismiss from my creed the existence of inert matter, I lose nothing. The phenomena, the train of antecedents and consequents, remain as before ; and this is all that I am truly concerned with. But take away the existence of my fellow-men ; and you reduce all that is, and all that I experience, to a senseless mummery. " You take my life, taking the thing whereon I live." — pp. 447 — 449.

The notices of the author's own life and studies are not so numerous nor so interesting, as we were led to expect from the title-page. The following passage is among the most valuable, as it helps to explain the early bias which his mind appears to have taken towards skepticism and paradox.

' One of the earliest passions of my mind was the love of truth and sound opinion. " Why should I," such was the language of my solitary meditations, " because I was born in a certain degree of latitude, in a certain century, in a country where certain institutions prevail, and of parents professing a certain faith, take it for granted that all this is right ? — This is matter of accident. " Time and chance happeneth to all : " and I, the thinking principle within me, might, if such had been the order of events, have been born under circumstances the very reverse of those under which I was born. I will not, if I can help it, be the creature of accident ; I will not, like a shuttle-cock, be at the disposal of every impulse that is given me." I felt a certain disdain for the being thus directed ; I could not endure the idea of being made a fool of, and of taking every *ignis fatuus* for a guide, and every stray notion, the meteor of the day, for everlasting truth. I am the person, spoken of in a preceding Essay, who early said to Truth, " Go on : whithersoever thou leadest, I am prepared to follow."

' During my college-life therefore, I read all sorts of books, on every side of any important question, or that were thrown in my way, that I could hear of. But the very passion that determined me to this mode of proceeding, made me wary and circumspect in coming to a conclusion. I knew that it would, if any thing, be a more censurable and contemptible act, to yield to every seducing novelty, than to adhere obstinately to a prejudice because it had been instilled into me in youth. I was therefore slow of conviction, and by no means " given to change." I never willingly parted with a suggestion that was unexpectedly furnished to me ; but I examined it again and again, before I consented that it should enter into the set of my principles.

‘In proportion however as I became acquainted with truth, or what appeared to me to be truth, I was like what I have read of Melancthon, who, when he was first converted to the tenets of Luther, became eager to go into all companies, that he might make them partakers of the same inestimable treasures, and set before them evidence that was to him irresistible.’ — pp. 333 – 335.

There are but too many indelible traces in the work before us of the degrading views of the human soul, and man’s prospects, which had their origin in French philosophy, and the French Revolution. We rejoice, however, in occasional indications, like the following, of irrepressible aspirations after something better and holier.

‘Man is a godlike being. We launch ourselves in conceit into illimitable space, and take up our rest beyond the fixed stars. We proceed without impediment from country to country, and from century to century, through all the ages of the past, and through the vast creation of the imaginable future. We spurn at the bounds of time and space; nor would the thought be less futile that imagines to imprison the mind within the limits of the body, than the attempt of the booby clown who is said within a thick hedge to have plotted to shut in the flight of an eagle.

‘We never find our attention called to any particular part or member of the body, except when there is somewhat amiss in that part or member. And, in like manner as we do not think of any one part or member in particular, so neither do we consider our entire microcosm and frame. The body is apprehended as no more important and of intimate connexion to a man engaged in a train of reflections, than the house or apartment in which he dwells. The mind may aptly be described under the denomination of the “stranger at home.” — pp. 9, 10.

‘Hence it is that unenlightened man, in almost all ages and countries, has been induced, independently of divine revelation, to regard death, the most awful event to which we are subject, as not being the termination of his existence. We see the body of our friend become insensible, and remain without motion, or any external indication of what we call life. We can shut it up in an apartment, and visit it from day to day. If we had perseverance enough, and could so far conquer the repugnance and humiliating feeling with which the experiment would be attended, we might follow step by step the process of decomposition and putrefaction, and observe by what degrees the “dust returned unto earth as it was.” But, in spite of this

demonstration of the senses, man still believes that there is something in him that lives after death. The mind is so infinitely superior in character to this case of flesh that incloses it, that he cannot persuade himself that it and the body, perish together." — pp. 14, 15.

We note with increasing interest the appearance of passages like these in the writings of professed skeptics and infidels. The coarse and bald atheism, which was once affected by minds from whom better things might have been expected, has lost the attraction which it derived for a time from novelty, and from being associated with courage and daring, and a spirit of resistance to tyrannical impositions. The consequence will be, the consequence has been, that enlightened men, the friends of humanity and freedom, every where are coming to look on the wretched delusion with unmixed disgust and horror. Atheism, from being almost exclusively a disease of enthusiastic and cultivated minds, has become almost exclusively the disease of ignorant and base minds. It may show itself in the lower classes, but it has been abandoned by the higher; it is ignorance and conceit tricking themselves in the miserable sophistries which the philosophy that invented them has long since discarded.

ART. X. — *Remains of the Rev. EDMUND D. GRIFFIN*, compiled by FRANCIS GRIFFIN : with a Biographical Memoir of the Deceased, by the Rev. JOHN M'VICKAR, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, &c., in Columbia College. In 2 volumes. New York. 1831. pp. 456 and 466.

WE know nothing of Mr. Griffin but from the work before us. Every thing that is here presented to us is presented for the first time. The fine head, that fronts the title-page, is one that revives no recollections in our minds. We had never even heard the name of the original. Nor is this singular. He lived at a distance from us, and died young. He had but just entered into the public duties, which his talents and zeal had made various, when he was suddenly taken away from

them all. But sympathy has something electric about it that disregards distance, and perhaps there is more pleasure in introducing the merits of an accomplished stranger into our own circle, than in recommending to others a familiar friend. It is from this impulse that we are led to speak of these volumes.

Mr. Griffin appears to be one of that beautiful company, which we are always at a loss whether to call a small or a numerous one. It is composed of the richly gifted and early lost. It is small, if we consider only the names of those, who have made themselves an after-life in the remembrance of mankind. That must of course be small. The eminent must always be few. Such is the necessity of things, at least in this world of relations. But the class is numerous, if we count it according to the strength of our own attachments, imaginations, and expectancies, — the many fond regrets that are sure to accompany the departure of what we gloried and trusted in, — and the many brilliant and reasonably cherished hopes, that it pleases God often to destroy. It is a sentiment deeply fixed in our nature, that what is prematurely excellent is not destined to last. The sentiment is almost as old as human records, yet as tender as the wounded heart under its latest bereavement. It is written among the precepts of religious consolation, and heard among the daily complaints of human disappointment. 'Whom the Gods love die young,' said a Greek poet of unknown antiquity. Another writer, equally unknown, but of far worthier and holier celebrity, has repeated the same thing: 'He pleased God and was beloved of him, so that he was translated; — yea, speedily was he taken away.' We are reminded of these two sayings, one of Gentile and the other of Jewish origin, — showing that the root of both is in our common humanity, — by the appearance of these volumes. We believe that the spirit which speaks in them is one, with which those sayings have a close connexion and prophecy. We are ready to acknowledge it as possessed of rare endowments, and to utter our lament over what appears to our imperfect sight its untimely departure. We respect the feelings, that have prompted those who were most familiar with it while it was here, to raise this monument to it now that it is gone; — not of lifeless marbles or senseless shrubbery, but of those more durable materials, its own affections and thoughts. We honor the

pious wish to spread the knowledge of an accomplished son and brother beyond the limits of his immediate sphere of activity and love, and thus give a wider celebrity to a cherished name.

The 'Biographical Memoir,' with which the volumes begin, is an uncommonly interesting sketch of its subject. It was prepared by a gentleman, who witnessed and enjoyed the extraordinary promise which he gave in his school days, by the quickness of his abilities, the purity of his character, and his persevering zeal; and it cannot well be read by any young man, without inspiring the love at least, if not the emulation, of kindred excellencies. It is indeed a lovely picture of an ambitious but ingenuous youth, who never disappointed his friends but when he died, and whose filial duty and fraternal affection render doubly appropriate the tribute, that this work is meant to pay to his memory.

The principal and much the most agreeable part of these 'Remains,' is a tour through Italy and Switzerland, in the year 1829. It is written in a free and animated manner, not entering into tedious details, but presenting what chiefly engaged the mind of the traveller, distinctly to the reader. They who have been ramblers, like him, over those lands of enchantment, where nature has lavished all her majesty and beauty, and art exhibits its most splendid marvels, and the soul is made to overflow with sentiments and reflections, such as can be felt in their fulness nowhere besides, will take pleasure in retracing their steps with so intelligent and enthusiastic a companion. While they, who can visit the objects and scenes that are most eagerly sought abroad, only through the relations of another as they sit at home, and whose fancy must supply the place of the returned voyager's recollections, will scarcely find any where so much information so briefly and feelingly conveyed, as in this unpretending but spirited journal.

The next considerable portion of the work is made up of fragments from a course of Lectures on Roman, Italian, and English literature. These lectures were composed at a call wholly unexpected, immediately after his arrival from Europe, and delivered from the chair of the Rev. Professor M^r Vickar, in Columbia College. 'They continued,' says his biographer, 'through the months of May and June, being prepared, written out, and delivered, almost it may be said at

the same moment. They extend to more than three hundred pages octavo; a degree of manual as well as intellectual labor, not often paralleled; and when coupled with the recollection of it being a voluntary unbought service, taken up without premeditation, in the very moment of return, carried on without aid, and completed in the midst of all the interruptions incident to such a period of congratulation, — it may be said without exaggeration, that they remain a noble monument of promptitude, diligence, and knowledge, and afford a rich sample of what might have been effected by him had life been spared.' From the extracts that are presented to us, we do not wonder at the admiration with which this effort of his was received. They show a tasteful mind, stored with knowledge, and trained to habits of reflection.

His style is not wholly free, perhaps, from those faults, which easily beset a young and ardent writer, who composes rapidly and with a dangerous facility; but it always flows on with a clear and generous current. The severer taste of maturer life, if he had been spared to see it, would doubtless have chastened that tendency to exuberance, which is after all one of the failings of genius. We have room but for a single quotation, which will give our readers a favorable though a very fair specimen of his talent in description.

'It was on the morning of our leaving Turin, that I had a better view than on any preceding occasion, of the magnificent scenery with which it is surrounded. Starting at 6 o'clock, we soon arrived at the bridge of the Po, and I looked of course for the mountains. My hope of seeing them was but small, as day had only just begun to break. However, far in the horizon, opposed to the coming sun, I perceived a faint red, which served to mark their outline. While the rest of the world was still buried in night, they were privileged to catch the beams of day. By and by their color warmed into a rich roseate hue, which contrasted beautifully with the violet tint of the mist that lay in darkness at their feet. As morning advanced, a red hot glow succeeded, and the vast amphitheatre of Piedmont was, in its whole western section, lighted up with an ineffable and overwhelming radiance. Meanwhile the eastern horizon was not unworthy of attention. The golden hues of an Italian sky formed a magnificent back-ground, against which were relieved the towers of the Superga, and the picturesque outline of the neighbouring hills. Scarcely had I time to contemplate this part of the scene and turn towards the mountains, before their

aspect was again changed. The mist had fallen like a curtain at their feet, and the precarious tints of dawn had ripened into a twilight gray. The mountains themselves, in their whole vast extent, now seemed a wall of fire. I am using no figure of rhetoric, and wish to be understood literally. Iron in the furnace could not have glowed with an intenser red, than did those stupendous masses in the rays of morning. Never did I witness a scene of such transcendent and overwhelming magnificence. A wall of fire, seeming almost as extensive as half the circumference of earth, its battlements and pyramids and towers shooting upwards into heaven, as if preparing to inflame those elevated regions; and above and still beyond, new spires catching the same fiery radiance, the bases of the mountains clothed in vapor, the valley pervaded with the gray mist of twilight, and the distant town relieved against this brilliant background, the majestic river, the rich eastern sky, composed a landscape which brought the tears into my eyes, and closing my lips in silence, precluded even the ordinary expressions of delight.' — Vol. i. p. 148.

We offer these volumes a welcome. There are some redundancies, especially in the frequent and minute descriptions of paintings which are not to be described. But we are sure that the influence which the book is suited to produce is a pure and good one. The author writes in the spirit of a scholar though without the least pedantry, and of one who is deeply enamoured of all the forms of beauty and good. Such a spirit can never display itself in vain.

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ART. I. — *Essays on the Formation and the Publication of Opinions, and on other Subjects.* The Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London. 1826. 12mo. pp. 320.

THIS is an able work. We are not about to review it, preferring rather to recommend it to our readers, than to undertake to give them an abstract of what is in it. The perusal of it, recommending, as it does, the utmost freedom of investigation, naturally raises an important inquiry, which we propose now to pursue.

The alleged tendency of free investigation to skepticism, one of the most common, and held to be one of the most serious objections against Unitarianism, was considered in our last Number. We propose now to inquire, what it is that constitutes the stability of the Christian's faith. What is the state of that mind, of which it may be affirmed, that it is reasonably established and settled in its religion?

In this day, of free inquiry, of fluctuating opinions, and multiplying sects, this is a question of no common interest. It is quite evident, that the old idea of stability in the faith which prevailed in the Catholic Church, will not suffice for these times, — will not suffice, in fact, for Protestantism at any time. We must find some other stability to support us, than that of implicit and unhesitating faith, or we must return to the bosom of the self-styled unerring Church. But this we cannot do. The fiction of human infallibility is gone from us for ever. Voluminous creeds, like unsubstantial shadows, are fast following that imposing phantom. We must now be

established in something stronger, deeper, more real and true ; in individual convictions, — the deep convictions of our own minds.

But still this does not answer the question. What *are* these convictions ? What views are we to take of our doubts, of the freedom of inquiry, of the speculative questions upon which Christians are divided, and of the vital principles of religion, that may sustain the mind, amidst the conflicting statements, directions, exhortations, and warnings, that are rising on every side of us ?

In our own apprehension this is a subject of great practical importance. It is not a change only from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, from the assumed infallibility of the one to the theoretical, we are afraid, rather than practical freedom of the other, that commends this discussion to us ; but there is a still greater change in the religious bodies of our own country. There has been a time in our churches when, with regard to religious inquiry, the great question was, How shall men be aroused ? With many that time has passed away, and the great question for multitudes now is, How shall they be established, strengthened, settled ? Of not a few it may be said, that this is a question which very nearly touches their happiness. They are suffering deep anxieties on the question, What is truth ? They do not put this question as Pilate did, amidst the multitude only. They do not put it as he did, with hasty indifference, or a momentary and more serious suspicion, — for we scarcely know which state of mind to ascribe to him ; but it is a question which they carry with them to their retirements, which mingles with their prayers, which travels with them in their journeys, which enters into their conversation and their very business. Or, having settled this question with tolerable satisfaction to their own minds, and having taken their stand as supporters of some particular explanation of Christianity, they are suffering from the treatment of those who differ from them ; they are suffering from reproaches, from alienation, from the severed ties of friendship ; they are suffering even from the virtues of others, from well-meant piety, and honest misrepresentation, and the strenuous opposition of misguided conscience.

The doubts, the fears, the anxieties indeed, naturally attendant on a state of free, Protestant inquiry, altogether constitute a state of mind, which has been perhaps too little considered

by our religious guides of all parties. Men who sit in their closets, who have opportunities for much research, and who, from their situation, exert a powerful influence on society, are scarcely able, perhaps, to estimate the effect of what they say upon others. They may send abroad words from the pulpit or the press, with such ease and carelessness, or with such dexterous aim, as if it were in sport, and these words, to the timid, the sensitive, and anxious, may be as 'fire-brands, arrows, and death.' It is easy with rash assertions, with loose statements, and unguarded allusions, to disturb and unsettle the minds of others; or with solemn protestations, and awful warnings, and tones of horror, to distress and affright them; but surely sober and thoughtful men, charged with the momentous trust of religious influence, and themselves fallible, should beware how they take hold of that mighty instrument,—language, speech,—which carries suffering or joy, fear or hope, peace or trouble, to unnumbered hearts. A respect for the minds of others, such as we all claim for our own, a generous and considerate regard for their improvement, freedom, and virtue, an unspeakable sympathy for their wants, for their inquiries, for their anxieties, should characterize all the messages of religion which man addresses to his fellow-men.

We wish to be governed by these considerations, while we make the attempt to say some things, designed to stablish and settle those, who are troubled, and suffering perhaps, with doubts and anxieties, whether on more or fewer points of their religious faith.

We do not apprehend them, among the mass of our congregations indeed, to be many. On the points that relate not only to religion in general, but to our own exposition of Christianity, as distinguished from that of others, we suppose that, as a body, we are well settled. But we confess, we should be sorry to believe, that we had no doubts, on any matters, great or small, of religious doctrine, that we had no inquiries to pursue, no obscurities or difficulties, in the loftiest theme of human contemplation, to be cleared up; that we had no solicitude left, more perfectly to understand the truth. And there may not be wanting some among us, who are seriously anxious on some points, not only of great general interest, but of great importance, as they conceive, to their religious and future welfare.

1. With a view, then, at once to explain and further our purpose, let us offer it as a preliminary observation, and the first we have to make, that doubts and anxieties, so far from being designed to be removed from all points of religious inquiry, do themselves belong to a sound and healthful state of improvement and progress.

Inquiry does itself imply uncertainty about what is true. But inquiry belongs to the very condition of an imperfect creature. There is but one Being in the universe, who beholds truth with that perfect vision, that admits of no uncertainty. The man who has no doubts, has no thoughts that deserve the name. He may vaunt his assurance; but he could not fix upon himself a more certain mark of intellectual dulness.

Obvious and indisputable as these positions may seem to be, it is against these, we apprehend, that the tide of general feeling, in every Christian country, sets most full and strong. The reign of a church assuming to be infallible, is not yet over; and for a man to say, 'I doubt,' is still for him to make the most unpopular of all declarations. We know that there are discriminations to be made; but the evil is, that this feeling, of which we speak, makes very little discrimination. It is a general feeling;—the general and immediate presumption is against the doubter; and being thus, we hold it to be utterly wrong,—unfriendly to reason, unfriendly to freedom, unfriendly to progress and improvement, unfriendly to truth.

Let it not be said by way of reply, that we have an infallible Bible, so long as we are fallible interpreters of it. Let it not be said, that the church has always believed thus and thus; when it is well known, that the history of the church, to a considerable extent, is a history of now exploded errors. Let it not be alleged, that light has come into the world, when it is written also that the darkness comprehended it not, and when it may be inferred, that so far as darkness still prevails, it doth not yet comprehend it.

No; we are 'fully persuaded,' to use the language of the noble-minded pastor of the Pilgrim church, 'that more light is yet to break forth from God's word.' We do not deny, that of many things we may be certain. Neither do we forget, that it will be admitted by intelligent men of all creeds, that there are some things about which we may law-

fully doubt. But we contend for more than admissions. We contend for a principle — for the principle, that honest doubts are to be treated with candor, with respect, with forbearance, that they are not to be overruled, nor beaten down, nor awed down; that they are not to be overwhelmed with obloquy, nor to be conjured out of men by looks, or tones of horror. We would resist, in short, this universal and violent presumption against doubt. It is closing up the very path by which imperfect beings must find the way to truth. It would, if unresisted, have left us all to be at this moment Papists. Nay, but for overwhelming miracles of power, it would have left us all to be at this moment Pagans. Not to inquire, is not to advance; to learn nothing, is to know nothing.

Neither is the world ever too *old* to improve, neither is an individual. The world was made, and human life was given for this very purpose. There is a singular idea prevailing on this subject, which shows how limited are the conceptions entertained of it, — that persons advancing in life should rest in their religious belief, whatever it is. ‘I am too old to change now,’ is a sort of accredited answer to every suggestion of reasonable doubt. And this is said by a being, whose hope is to live and to improve for ever, and said by him in the very infancy of his existence, in the earliest dim twilight of the endless day before him. We use but the feeblest comparison, when we say, that this is as if a child should say, concerning the wisdom and prudence of this life, ‘I am too old to improve.’ The truth is, that no man, no angel has lived too long to learn. Existence is given, and is to be lengthened out to future ages for this very end. From those bright and boundless paths of knowledge, we hear no such plea as this for an indolent faith; and he who uses it here, because he is forty or sixty years of age, might just as properly have used it in his cradle.

It is by such considerations, we think, (and they might be easily extended,) that men are to be relieved from the solicitude they feel, we do not say about their doubts, but about the bare fact of doubting. We are to be solicitous indeed to know the truth, but this solicitude is not to be a cause of anxiety; for the absence of it would be a more just ground for uneasiness. We are not to be established in assurance, but in something better in pursuit, inquiry, progress, in

closure of God's paternal love and interest for his human offspring, the doctrine of a future life, with glorious promises to the good, and fearful threatenings to the bad, the precepts and prohibitions that lay their stress upon the actions and consciences of men, — these are matters upon which every man among us is qualified, and is bound to judge. But modern theology, and especially in this country, has spread before the people an ocean of metaphysical disquisitions, as strange and inaccessible to them, as the wildest regions of nautical romance. Or to make the comparison without a figure, the metaphysical disquisitions of modern theology are just as unfit for the mass of the people, as the most abstruse problems of philosophy, or of the mathematics.

This distinction often obtains, with regard to different views of the same doctrine. For an instance of this observation, let us refer to the doctrine of the atonement. That Christ died for us, — died for sinners, is a doctrine that all Christians can admit. And there are some obvious respects, in which they can perceive not only that the fact is so stated, but that the moral bearings of this fact are very interesting. They can perceive in his death an affecting and sublime example of patience, forbearance, forgiveness, fortitude, and humility. And in the death of a being so exalted, and cherished by heaven, and falling a sacrifice in the cause of human virtue, they can see an evidence of God's love and pity for his offending creatures, and of his willingness to forgive them. But when the doctrine goes beyond this, — when it enters into the councils of heaven, and undertakes to say what God could, and what he could not consistently do; or when it goes into a critical and profound discussion of the subject of Jewish sacrifices, and of the question, whether the language of the New Testament, bearing reference to those sacrifices, is the language of general analogy, or of particular and exact explanation; when, we say, all this is done, though persons not studious of these questions, — the body of the people, we mean, — may look very grave, and may say it is very learned, and may be gratified that their minister has seemed to discourse so ably, we shall not hesitate to aver, that they know nothing about it! And the same remark applies to the more abstruse discussions and statements of the doctrines of original sin, election, decrees, &c.

And this is what we could wish our communities would

use their good sense so far as to say, to those who urge such matters upon their belief,—to say freely, as they could say truly, ‘We know nothing about these things, and therefore we cannot make ourselves anxious upon the question whether they are true or not. They may be interesting to you; they may be things, as you say they are, into which the angels desire to look; but as for us, who are plain and unlearned men, we know nothing about them.’

But there is one thing upon these points, which they are entitled to say, not in the form of a bare negative, but directly and positively. They may say, and with great justice, ‘If you urge such matters upon us as the essential and fundamental things of the gospel, without a reception of which we are to be called heretics and unbelievers and cannot hope to be saved,—whether we are entitled from our actual investigation to reject such doctrines or not, we do hold ourselves entitled to reject such *teaching*. We cannot receive this for the simple, gracious, and affecting doctrine of Christ. We cannot receive it as the substance of the Christian instruction. We cannot believe, that a system of metaphysical theology which it requires years of study to understand and defend, that a few speculative points which it requires more than half of the labors of the clergy to clear up, and any way to maintain in the public mind, *can* be the fundamental truth of a religion professedly designed for the poor, the ignorant, and the unlearned. Whether truths or not, they cannot be fundamental truths. The very justice and mercy of the gospel bear us out in this conviction; and we can no more be anxious about such speculations, than about any of the subtleties of metaphysics and philosophy.’

And let us tell our readers, that the exclusion of these theological mysteries will not cut them off from high themes, and themes that will try and task all the powers of their minds. To rise to purer and finer discriminations of conscience and duty, to comprehend the spiritual beauty and greatness of the character of Jesus, to enter into deeper and deeper, and more glorious and ineffable views of the holiness, the love, the blessedness of God, to learn how we may approach nearer and nearer to him, how we may contemplate him more perfectly, and more entirely resemble him,—these will be subjects and occasions of lofty effort and unspeakable joy.

The themes of religion are infinite. To us, we confess, it would be a dull and disheartening prospect, if we anticipated that all the subjects of our investigation in this world and the future, were limited to any peculiar and exclusive system of theology. No; the themes of religion are infinite. We may pursue them here, for a few coming years; and we anticipate that pursuit with great satisfaction and hope. But when we shall all pass away, when the theme shall drop from mortal tongues, and shall no longer fall upon the ear, nor kindle in the eye, our trust is, that the freed spirit shall rise to pursue it, through the boundless regions of knowledge for ever and ever.

4. In the fourth place, while it is not important to the stability and peace of our minds, that we should decide upon matters beyond our reach,—we speak for those who have not time to be theologians or philosophers,—it is essential that we should be established, and that too upon sufficient consideration, in some great and sustaining truths of religion.

We say, upon sufficient consideration. The time for implicit, traditional, presumptuous faith has gone by. If we are a people that can not, or will not think at all, if we will not examine with any attention the grounds of our faith, we are not prepared for the age and country in which we live. There have been ages of ecclesiastical domination and slumbering acquiescence, and men were then safe from absolute skepticism, in the power of the priesthood, and in the absence of all religious inquiry. But the iron rule alike, and the leaden slumber of centuries, are breaking up, and men must now resign their faith, whatever it is, or defend it. Whatever may be thought of this state of things, whether it be welcomed or deprecated,—one thing is certain, it cannot be helped. There is no longer a question about permitting it; it has come; and we must meet it as we can. We must be prepared, as they were exhorted to do in the primitive age of our religion, to ‘give a reason of the hope that is in us,’ let that hope be orthodox or heterodox, of this church or of that church, of the sect of the many or of the sect of the few.

Nay, the question which some are adventurous enough to agitate, is not about sects, it is not even about Christianity, but it is, whether there shall be any religion at all. There is a spirit abroad, bold and reckless enough to assail every thing venerable and sacred, not only in the acquired,

but, as we may say, in the native faith of the human heart. There are those who profess to doubt, nay, who publicly deny, the very being of a God.

We give no importance whatever to this extraordinary demonstration of the free spirit of the age and country, considered as an effort to unsettle the faith of mankind in so evident a truth. We only refer to it as a matter of insane speculation, which the freedom of our institutions and of the age permits to be presented, somewhat more prominently than it ever has been before in a calm state of things, to the public mind.

We say, therefore, that since this doctrine, the foundation of all religion, is assailed, men must, upon sufficient consideration, be established in the belief, that there is a God. Happily, to any reasonable mind, it needs but little argument. We have occasion only to put an atheist to the proof in a single one of the thousand comparisons that arise, to show how weak is the ground on which he stands. We have only to ask him to look with us, for instance, at the machinery of one of our manufactories. And after having surveyed it throughout, all its curious contrivances, all its exact adaptations of one thing to another, and of all to the ultimate purpose, we have only to say, — ‘When you will convince us that all this machinery had no designer nor former, then we will listen to you. To descend to particulars, — when you will convince us, that all these wheels, rollers, bands, with all their complicated movements, *happened* to resolve themselves into these forms and motions, — that the substances of which they are composed, the wood, the iron, &c., happened to form themselves into this exquisite adjustment of one thing to another, — and then, that the raw materials, the wool, the cotton, happened to become connected with the machinery, and to work out the convenient and beautiful fabrics before us, — when, we say to the atheist, you can convince us that all this proves no design, nor designer, nor former, but is a work of mere chance, then will we prepare ourselves to listen to your argument.’ And yet how inadequate is the comparison! The mighty globe is filled with mechanism, with contrivance, with adaptations, as much more various, vast, minute, exact, and wonderful, as skill divine surpasses that which is human.

The same argument proves the moral perfection and the

providence of God, and in these it is necessary that we should be established. There is no stability, without a belief in these things, but in utter and brutish stupidity. To be ourselves but accidents in this scene of things, and the sport of accidents, as the atheist will have it, would be, indeed, to involve our minds in total darkness and distress. Yet it would be no improvement of our condition to be the victims of design, if that design were not good. The supposition that infinite malevolence had, however curiously, contrived this state of things for our misery, or with a total disregard of our happiness, would only add unspeakable horror to distracting confusion.

No; we must be settled in the belief, that God is good; that he made us with a gracious and kind purpose; that he provides mercifully for our welfare; that he hears the cry of our want and weakness, and helps our infirmity, and compassionates our sorrow; or our minds can have no comfort, peace, or strength. We know of nothing so much to be pitied, as the reflecting mind that distrusts the kindness and providence of its Maker. This we must avoid, if we value the peace of our own hearts. We must yield ourselves to the kind and gentle teachings of nature. Not blindly; for the more we reason, the more we reflect, the more shall we feel their power. We hesitate not to say, that he, who, with a right mind, with a good heart, should go forth in any summer season, and commune with the spirit of all living things around him, would feel, beyond all doubt, and beyond utterance, that God is good. He would see his goodness in the light, he would feel it in every fragrant breath of air; he would perceive it in the boundless growth and beauty of the earth; he would be assured of it in the kindling joy of his own heart; the argument would gently insinuate itself through the medium of every sense; it would press upon his mind in a weight of gratitude and love; and with all these gracious ministrations, these fair and beauteous messengers of God's goodness around him, he could no more doubt it, than he could doubt his joys, his senses, his very existence.

It is not our business now, however, to argue at large for the doctrines of the divine goodness and providence. We only say that a reliance on them is essential to our religious stability and peace. On this point we have the following observations in a letter of Dr. Franklin to Thomas Paine, who had sent him

a part of the manuscript of one of his infidel publications. The testimony is the more unexceptionable, as Franklin was not an advocate for any one of the prevailing systems of religious faith. 'I have read your manuscript,' he says, 'with some attention. By the argument it contains against a particular providence, though you allow a general providence, you strike at the foundation of all religion. For without the belief in a providence that takes cognizance of, guards, and guides, and favors particular individuals, there is no motive to worship a deity, to fear its displeasure, or to pray for its protection.'

Finally, in order to any stability or peace of mind, we must believe in a revelation. We are not now to argue for the fact of its having been made. We only say, that a belief in this fact is essential to the comfort and support of our minds; and this itself, indeed, is no weak argument for its reality. If we are asked, how it is, then, that this revelation is not made to all minds, we answer, that we see, in the very discrimination used, an evidence that it came from the Father of Spirits. The Christian communication was made at the very time, and to the very nations, where the progress of the human understanding made it needful, and it is now possessed by all those portions of the human race, that, from their intellectual wants, peculiarly require it. Nay, and it is gradually spreading itself among other nations, as they are prepared to receive it, to feel its necessity, and to reap its benefits.

But we repeat, that it is not our business now to defend this revelation, but only to maintain the indispensableness of a belief in it, as a refuge and support to the mind. This, at least, is our own deep and entire conviction.

The great positions in this revelation on which our own minds rely, are the messiahship of Jesus, or, in other words, the fact of a divine and merciful interposition for our spiritual nature, and the doctrine of a future life. These, to be relied on, must be matters of revelation. We might hope they were true, but we should be very far from the needful assurance. Even Plato was obliged to doubt to the last, whether his own gifted mind was not, in this imperfect life, taking its only chance of being.

Besides these doctrines of interposition, and of immortality, there are many things, no doubt, in the New Testa-

ment, which are extremely interesting; but without these, we feel that the mind could not live in any peace, happiness, or hope, that is suited to a reasonable creature.

We speak of the life of the mind, and not of the life of the body. The body, no doubt, might live on, and take its animal comfort and pleasure. The mind might live for the purposes of the body, and for the lower ends of the outward scene around it,—for gain, for praise, for pleasure. But this is not the life of the mind. In that more intellectual and spiritual life, when we feel the powers and the wants of a higher nature; when we contemplate the glorious, the beautiful, and the godlike with enrapturing joy; when we seek repose in objects enduring, eternal, infinite; surely we must be able in our faith to go beyond the bounds of time and earth. Tell us then, that the Being whom we supremely love, has no regard for our improvement, welfare, and salvation, has made no provision for them;—tell us, that our cherished being, and all the precious thoughts within us, have none but the most transient hold on existence; that all the hallowed affections of our hearts shall fall from us like blossoms before the summer's breeze;—tell us, that the beings of our earthly companionship, the venerated, the beloved, the cherished, who have gone from us, we shall never meet again;—thus sink into the universal grave all that we prize and love, all that our minds live for; and they might live on indeed, but it would be a life of sorrow; they might continue, indeed, but their existence would not be life, it would be only protracted, lingering, living death.

But relying on those great convictions, which the Gospel imparts; relying on those great truths, which none dispute, and which, alas! none feel as they ought; relying, we say, on God's paternal care and mercy, and his offered aid, and his gracious forgiveness in Christ Jesus, and his promised gift of eternal life, we have beneath us the everlasting foundations of strength. We may not depend upon this explanation, and that distinction, which men urge upon us; but depending on what God hath plainly spoken, we shall want no other assurance or stability. We shall be strong, not perhaps in the supports of human confidence, not in the faith of things disputed, doubtful, and difficult to be understood, but 'strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.'

5. We have space for but a single further remark. The tendency of our two last observations has been, to set up the importance of what is intelligible, and practical, and essential, above all abstruse doctrines and doubtful disputations. We now say, in the fifth place, and finally, that nothing can relieve the serious and liberal inquirer from undue anxiety about the questions that arise before him, but a deep, constant, and increasing devotedness in the heart, to those truths which he does believe. The mind that never doubts may be buoyed up by confidence; a most undesirable support certainly, but, such as it is, we must allow that the votary of creeds and systems has it. But the mind that freely examines its own conclusions, and sometimes calls in question those that have been dear to it, must be established in habitual and devoted virtue and piety. He who is searching into the unsound and decaying columns of his spiritual dwelling, must feel that his house still rests upon the pillars of eternal and soul-sufficing truth.

How reasonably and how truly may he feel this! He is removing rubbish and decay, only to lay open more clearly to view the real foundations, and to take faster hold of the strong and unfailing supports, of his faith, happiness, and hope. We doubt not, that many among us have found this to be far more than figure or illustration; that many have been inquiring, ay, and doubting, on some points, for years and years, and yet have been every year growing stronger in faith, and living more happily in all good conscience, have found religion almost daily to be rising before them, clothed with new beauty and brightness, have found their views of God, and duty, and heaven to be constantly more and more solemn, more controlling and encouraging, more precious and holy.

If then, (let us be permitted to say to our readers,) if you are accustomed to have doubts on any questions of faith, ritual, or practice, you can find the remedy, provided you are good and conscientious men, you can find the remedy against all distressing anxiety, only in an increasing and devoted piety and goodness. If these keep pace with your inquiries, if, the more you doubt, the more pious, the more humble, the more charitable, the more affectionate, and pure you are, all will be well with you, and more than well.

To make this direction more specific, we would say to every inquirer, 'Let your prayers be fervent, confiding, and perfectly submissive to the wisdom of God.' In sincerity, uprightness, and holy freedom of soul, pray concerning every doctrine, as the devout Watts did concerning the Trinity. 'Hadst thou, gracious Father, informed me in any place of thy word, that this divine doctrine is not to be understood by men, and yet they were required to believe it, I would have subdued all my curiosity to faith, and submitted my wandering and doubtful imaginations, as far as it was possible, to the holy and wise determinations of thy word.' 'Hadst thou been pleased, in any one plain Scripture, to have informed me which of the different opinions about the holy Trinity, among the contending parties of Christians, had been true, thou knowest with how much zeal and satisfaction and joy my unbiassed heart would have opened itself to receive and embrace the divine discovery.' 'Help me, heavenly Father,' he says, with an affecting simplicity, 'for I am quite tired and weary of these human explanations, so various and uncertain. When wilt thou explain it to me thyself, O my God, by the secret and certain dictates of thy spirit, according to the intimations of thy word?' 'Nor let any pride of reason, nor any affectation of novelty, nor any criminal bias whatsoever, turn my heart aside from hearkening to these divine dictates of thy word and spirit. Suffer not any of my native corruptions, nor the vanity of my imaginations, to cast a mist over my eyes, while I am searching after the knowledge of thy mind and will, for my eternal salvation!'

Again, to specify,—we would say to every inquirer, 'Let the love of God, in you, be a strong, sustaining, absorbing, and most joyful affection. Let the love of man be, not an honored precept borne on the sacred page, but let it be a deeper feeling in the heart. Let it be unfeigned, disinterested, overflowing, full, generous, blessed.' What strength and satisfaction will he feel, who can use language like this? 'I may be uncertain about many things; I may be tried on some subjects with doubts, that I must feel most desirous to have cleared up; I may be wrong in my reasonings; I may err, for I am fallible; but I will only the more earnestly devote and dedicate myself to my duty and conscience; I will strive, with constant prayers and efforts, to be more and

more pure and faithful; I will cherish within me the unspeakable love of God; as I break loose from tradition, prejudice, and creeds, I will bind my heart to freedom, charity, self-denial, prayer, and all goodness.'

Let any man truly and heartily say this; let him thus enter into a more spiritual and intimate communion with the realities of those things about which other men dispute; let him be thus established in all the strong and blessed affections of his nature, and nothing can move him. Though the heavens be shaken, and the earth tremble beneath his feet, he has the strength and security of confidence in that Being, who made the heavens and the earth. Though the moral elements of the world be in confusion, he is calm. Though he himself may grapple with doubts, he does it with a cheerful and unfearing resolution, and a tranquil energy. Though men around him dispute, though they are filled with confidence, and are ready to overwhelm him with denunciations, though they beseech, and warn, and weep, none of *these* things move him. He can lift to his admonisher, — and this is no uncommon situation in the religious differences of these times, — he can lift to his admonisher or his accuser, a calm and assured countenance, with no trace in it of anger, or resentment, or fear, or trouble, and can say to him, in reply to all his expostulations and warnings, — 'Mistaken friend! troubled without cause, agitated without reason, sincere, I doubt not, but mistaken friend! I am happy, happy in the love of God, happy in the love of *you*, which all your misconstructions and mistakes cannot prevent; I have a principle within me, above your judgment, beyond your power to disturb. I am blessed, beyond your interference, in the contemplations of my own mind, in the abiding affections of my heart; and I feel a firm trust in God, that in these contemplations and affections, I shall be blessed for ever. Think not, frail, fallible, erring fellow-creature! think not, try not, so to disturb me. Truth never yet came into the world, but astonishment and reproach first gathered around its benign countenance, — even though it were the countenance of Jesus; truth never yet came into the world, but lowering brows were bent upon it, and floods of misspent tears were shed over it. Yet do I not say, might our modest defender of himself continue, 'yet do I not say that I hold the unerring truth. I may be wrong; I may err;

but of this I am sure, of this I have the most joyful certainty, that in the love of God I am blessed, — blessed for ever.'

This, this is stability ; and nothing else can sustain a solicitous and serious inquirer after truth amidst the difficulties that surround him. The agitation naturally attendant upon uncertainty, is itself considerable ; but the power of society is often enough to make it overwhelming. Such is the constitutional sympathy which we are made to feel with the opinions and emotions of others, that a man is actually liable, and that without any blame on his own part, to partake of the horror that is felt against himself. This is a point of great importance to a class of Christians that is every where spoken against, and one that we may take some occasion fully to discuss. For the present we will only say, that he who would 'hold his heart firm' amidst all the disturbing influences incident to free inquiry, must hold it in the strength of conscious rectitude, and the assurance of fervent piety.

ART. II. — 1. *Traditions of Palestine.* Edited by HARRIET MARTINEAU. London : Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green. 1830. 12mo. pp. 148.

2. *The Times of the Saviour.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Reprinted, after Revision, from the English Edition. Boston : Leonard C. Bowles. 1831. 12mo. pp. 132.

THESE are not the titles of two separate works, but of one and the same work. The American volume is, as is professed in the title-page, 'reprinted, after revision,' from the English one. Judicious revision is often timely and useful. Alterations, if cautiously made, may be permitted, in a book which is reprinted on this side of the Atlantic. But the change of a title is a delicate matter. There is no clearer right to be established, than that of an author to name his own production. If we should chance to 'write a book,' which book should be thought worthy of republication in England, and it should appear there under another title than that which in the exercise of our best judgment we had bestowed upon it, we are ready to say that we

should probably dislike the proceeding, so much as to complain of it, as an uncommon and unjustifiable exercise of power. We cannot, therefore, approve of the change of title which has been effected in the present American edition of Miss Martineau's '*Traditions of Palestine.*' Even if this original title is not quite so good as that of '*Times of the Saviour,*'—which we do not allow,—yet we maintain that the change ought not to have been made. It would have been sufficient to suggest it in the Preface to the author's consideration.

We make the above remarks unwillingly, for we are grateful to the American editor for bringing us acquainted with this delightful book, and we should be sorry to have it supposed that we are not grateful. We know, moreover, that every alteration which he has made, was prompted by a sense of duty to the public, and to the writer herself. It is our duty, while we acknowledge the taste of the editor, and our obligations to him, to express our disapprobation of the principle on which he has proceeded in this case.

The '*Traditions of Palestine*' has been, under the name of '*The Times of the Saviour,*' so much read among us, and received with such decided approbation, that it is unnecessary for us to praise it, or to offer any particular account of its contents. One extract we must give, however, for the sake of those who have not seen the volume. It is from the first narrative, entitled '*The Hope of the Hebrew.*' Two friends, Paltiel and Sadoc, with a companion whom they had overtaken, are seeking the '*Teacher*' along the shores of the Lake of Genesareth.

'The noon-day heats became oppressive: the way was now stony and sandy; the glare of the sun, reflected from the transparent lake, wearied the eye, and the travellers began to look around for a place of repose. Paltiel remembered, that at the distance of two furlongs from the spot where they now were, a cluster of palm-trees grew in a recess of the hills, where a fountain of cool water gushed from a rocky cleft. As soon as they arrived within sight of the trees, they perceived, by the motion of garments, that some one was already at the spring. On approaching nearer, they saw an aged man couched on the ground as if asleep, while a maiden watched over him. She had spread her veil to shade his face from the light; but when she heard the sound of footsteps and perceived that strangers were drawing near, she hastily replaced her veil, and bent over the old man, as if speaking to him. He arose and surveyed the

three companions, placing his hand above his eyes, as if even the softened light beneath the palm-branches was painful. Seeing that they paused, as if wishing yet fearing to join company with him, he courteously invited them to repose and drink. Before accepting his offer, Sadoc uttered the inquiry, which was ever uppermost in his mind, whether the Teacher had passed that way.

"He hath, — blessed be his name, and the name of Jehovah who sent him!"

"Thou believest on him!" said Sadoc with joy.

"I must needs believe on him," replied the old man, "for he hath wrought a great work of mercy on me. When yonder sun had been an hour above the mountains, all was dark as night to me, as it hath been for years past. I now see."

"And the Prophet hath done this!"

"He laid his hands on me, and the blessed light returned to me. I have seen the face of my child. The sparkling of the waters also, and the fruit and leaves of these trees, greener and fairer than they were in my remembrance, have gladdened my heart. Yet will they be more beautiful unto me to-morrow; for my sense is yet weak, and I can scarce even look upon you, though the face of man has been long as a dream unto me, and this hour is like a pleasant waking. Blessed be he, who hath gladdened my age with light!"

"Amen, amen," murmured the maiden, as she sat with her head bowed on her knees.

"But the Teacher," exclaimed Sadoc, "how came he unto thee, and where?"

"We rested beneath this tree," replied the old man. "I heard the steps of men, and knew that a company approached. My daughter believed that the Prophet was among them, and therefore I went forth and bowed before him. He asked if I believed on his words, and looked to him for the salvation of Israel; and then he removed darkness from me."

'Again the maiden spoke in a low voice,

"'According to thy faith be it done unto thee.' — Those words shall be hidden in my heart evermore."

"Wherefore have ye not followed him?" inquired the Nazarene.

"I hastened to do so, when I should have bestowed my child in safety; but the Teacher saw that my spirit trembled within me, and he took my hand and led me hither, and desired me to abide, till the heat of noon should be overpast. And he gave us his blessing, and went on his way."

"Didst thou not fear before him?"

“ I feared before the manifest power of Jehovah. But this man I fear not. On his countenance my opened sight first rested, and I gazed without confusion. It seems to me, that whether men fear him or no, they cannot but love also. My heart has followed him, and if it please the Lord, I will offer my thanksgivings at the feet of his Prophet once again.”

‘ When Sadoc had heard all that the old man could relate, he was impatient to pursue his journey. Paltiel reminded him of his home, his family, and occupation ; but Sadoc earnestly replied,

“ Shall Jehovah put forth his wonders in our land, and shall mine eyes not see and mine ears not hear ? I go not back, till I have learned of his doctrine and sought to be his disciple.”

‘ He retired to a solitary place to pour out his spirit before Jehovah in thanksgivings that the long-desired year of salvation had opened gloriously, and in prayer that Israel might be exalted over other nations, and that all the power and prosperity of the earth might be concentrated in the people of God. Not doubting of the holiness of his petition, he set forth once again with a glowing heart and a countenance of joy.’ — pp. 21 – 24.

We hope that the book, of which the foregoing extract, tender, pathetic, and solemn, is but a fair specimen, will be purchased and read, under whatever title it may be offered. We hope that more books, on a similar plan, will be written with like success.

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. III. — *Some Thoughts on Self-Education, considered with Reference to the State of Literature in this Country.*

EDUCATION, in the broadest and most comprehensive sense of the term, is the just and harmonious development of all the faculties and powers, by which each is prepared to fulfil its appropriate purpose, and all are made to advance the highest improvement of the individual. In fewer words, man's whole nature is the subject upon which education should be made to operate, and the perfection of his whole nature is its end.

But as man's whole nature is made up of various parts, each requiring a culture, in some respects, peculiar to itself; it is expedient, and, indeed, necessary, in considering the subject, to divide and subdivide it, and to examine it under distinct points of view.

Thus, education, considered in reference to the grand divisions of man's intellectual and moral nature, is of two kinds: — that which teaches him to know, and that which induces him to be; that which instructs him, and that which improves him; that which makes him a wiser being, and that which makes him a better being; that which fills his mind with light, and that which fills his heart with love; that which opens to him a fuller communion with the intelligence of the Deity, and that which brings him into an ever-increasing conformity to his moral perfections.

Education, further, viewed in reference to the modes in which it is conducted, is of three kinds.

First, there is that which consists of direct instruction, and is communicated by parents, teachers, and in seminaries prepared for this purpose.

Secondly, there is that instruction which is indirect, and consists of the insensible influence of events, and of the condition in which, in providence, we are placed.* It is that, for example, which a child sees, when we perceive not him; what he hears, when we are unmindful that he is a listener; what he thinks of us and of our conduct, when we do not think of him; his silent inferences from our modes of life, habits, opinions, likings, and prejudices; the unsuspected influences of our associates and of his own; in a word, all the influence of all the circumstances wherein he is placed, which, though quiet and unsuspected in their operation, are very palpable and decisive in their effects.

And, thirdly, there is that education which the individual accomplishes in and for himself, that self-education, which is the result of voluntary effort and self-discipline.

Of these three modes of education, the first, namely, direct instruction, which is commonly thought to be of the greatest importance, has least influence in the formation of character; the second, or the silent education of events and circum-

* See, for a fuller illustration of this, the admirable *Essay* of Mrs. Barbauld on "Education."

stances, exerts a more decisive influence ; and the third, Self-Education, is, on all accounts, the most essential.

It is on this, that we propose to offer some remarks. We shall, first, attempt to establish and illustrate the position, that knowledge and virtue, or, in other words, intellectual and moral improvement, are mainly the mind's own work ; and we shall next advert to some practical uses of this truth.

In the first place, it is a plain fact, that without this self-labor, self-discipline, self-education, all direct instruction must be unavailing and useless. And is not this obvious ? For what is the nature and extent of all the ordinary processes of direct instruction ? They are, at best, but means, facilities, and aids, which presuppose in the mind to which they are applied an active, self-moving coöperation. Without this, they can effect nothing. They are efficacious just so far as the individual by his own energies seconds their application, and no further. They cannot advance him a single step, unless he makes corresponding efforts to go. As means, facilities, and aids, they are of immense importance. They may put us in a condition for improvement ; they may afford us the light of experience to direct our efforts ; they may remove unnecessary obstacles from our path ; they may point out our defects, and show us the method of correcting them ; they may enable us to strengthen what is weak, and to use well what is strong ; they may instruct us in the best employment of our faculties ; they may teach us how to study, when to study, what to study, and wherefore to study ; — but, after all, study we must, and study is self-work, and incomparably the hardest work that is accomplished beneath the sun. For study, be it remembered, is not dreaming awake, though we sit, through the livelong day, in the student's posture, with our eyes fixed upon a book. It is not much preparation and bustle about the means of knowledge. But it is, and it is nothing less than, the intense concentration of all our intellectual powers upon a given train of thought, to the temporary annihilation of all things else, to the forgetfulness even of our own existence. It is the grappling of the entire mind with a subject, as if for life, until it yields the blessing we seek. It is an effort, compared with which, the hardest toil of the day-laborer is play and pastime. And this, we need not say, is *self-work*. None can do it for another. None can carry us up the hill of

learning. It must be done, if done, by the strain upon our own sinews; by the wrenching of our own muscles; by the 'blood of toil from our own feet'; by the indomitable resolution of our own wills. Without this effort on our parts, all the means of instruction which this, and all other ages have devised, are vain, worse than vain; they are wasted, thrown away, and might as well be heaped upon a dead man or a statue.

All this, thus stated, is very plain, and will be readily admitted. And yet there is nothing, in point of fact, more frequently forgotten. There is a vague notion, as has been justly remarked, widely prevalent, that schools, and ampler seminaries, are able, by a power inherent in themselves, to fill the mind with learning; or that it is to be received inertly, like the influences of the atmosphere, by a mere residence at the places of instruction. But this is a sad mistake. Something, in this way, doubtless, may be effected. Something may be thus insensibly imbibed. A young person cannot pass his time, for years, in scenes like these, without catching something from the inspiration of the place. Intercourse, conversation, sympathy with his companions, will, without much voluntary effort on his part, convey some information, and mould, in some degree, the habits of his mind. But this, admitting it in its full extent, amounts to but very little. It is, moreover, too vague to be of any practical value. The truth, after all, is, that the most elaborate and manifold apparatus of instruction can impart nothing of importance to the passive and inert mind. It is almost as unavailing as the warmth and light of the sun, and all the sweet influences of the heavens, shed upon the desert sands. 'The schoolmaster,' we are told by one, who, be it observed, is himself a prodigy of self-education, 'the schoolmaster is abroad.' The word has been caught up by the nations as prophetic of mighty changes. But the schoolmaster is abroad to little purpose, unless his pupils stand ready in their places to receive him with open and active minds, and to labor with him for their own benefit. And it would be a happier auspice still, for the great cause of human improvement, if it could be said, that men were bent on becoming, each in his several station, their own instructors. If all the means of education which are scattered over the world, and if all the philosophers and teachers of ancient and modern times, were to be collected together,

and made to bring their combined efforts to bear upon an individual; all they could do would be to afford the opportunity of improvement. They could not give him a single valuable thought independently of his own exertion. All that could be accomplished must still be done within the little compass of his own mind; and they could not approach this, by a hair's breadth nearer, than access was made for them by his own coöperation. Nothing short of a miracle can teach a man any thing independently of this. All that he learns is effected by self-discipline, and self-discipline is the mind's own work. We all are, under God, intellectually, the makers of ourselves.

Our remarks, thus far, have had reference to intellectual improvement. But the spirit of them, with equal force, applies to moral and religious improvement. Virtue, religion, as well as knowledge, must also be, mainly, the mind's own work. Here, as in the former case, something may be insensibly imbibed from the circumstances in which we are placed; from the conversation and example of those around us; from the tone of the society in which we live; from prevailing opinions, manners, habits. But all this is of a negative character. It restrains, rather than aids. It serves rather to withhold us from gross vice, than to help us on to elevated virtue. It may correct the outward deportment, but takes little cognizance of principles and motives. It may prevent the outright and palpable developement of the sin, but blights not the swelling germ of iniquity in the heart. It may spread a decorum and decency over the surface of the character, but does little to alter, and still less to purify, and advance, and carry into effect the essential principles of virtue.

A similar remark, it is obvious, may be made of the external means of moral and religious improvement. These, like all the processes of direct instruction, in the education of the mind, are useless without the earnest coöperation of the individual. You can no more make him a Christian by sending him to church, than you can make him a scholar by sending him to school. The usual means of religious improvement, public religious instruction, public worship, the solemn and tender rites of our religion, seasons of abstraction from ordinary cares for self-intercourse, and for communion of the soul with God, are valuable, most valuable; valuable very

far beyond the common estimate that is made of them ; so valuable that they are the principal head-springs of public morals, and possess a preventive and sanative influence over public sentiment, which is more effective in preserving good order, good institutions, civil rights, and private welfare, than any other influences which are brought to bear upon the community. But how and why are they thus valuable ? Simply and only as means and aids of personal exertion ; simply and only by being brought into contact with the minds and hearts of men. Unless this is done, nothing is done. Our religious meetings, and services, and rites are vain ; nay, worse than vain. They are a mockery. Worse, even, than this ; — they are a perversion of those overtures of mercy, and those means of improvement, which a gracious God has vouchsafed, to raise us from a mere earthly life and make us partakers of a divine nature. What is prayer to him who does not pray ? What is religious instruction to the vain, the frivolous, the indifferent, the preoccupied and foreclosed mind ? What is the keeping of holy time to him, who, while he is ostensibly present at places of social worship, has yet left his thoughts and affections behind, to hold companionship with his business or his pleasures ? Alas ! nothing. It is but as the vain oblations, the pageantry, and sacrifices of a darker age, without the excuse of ignorance to be pleaded in palliation. It is obvious, that all the means of religious instruction must be unavailing and profitless to him, who will not coöperate in them, and with them, for his own benefit. Religious improvement, then, is essentially and necessarily the mind's own work. And it is as true, that, under God, and by the aids of that Good Spirit, which are ever vouchsafed, — how gracious and glorious is this truth ! — which are ever vouchsafed in exact proportion to our endeavours to obtain them, we are morally, as intellectually, the makers of ourselves.

We have thus attempted to show, that all the means of instruction are of little value without the coöperation of the individual who is the subject of them. It is still more clear, in the next place, that all advances in literature, all discoveries in science, all inventions in the arts, in one word, all that is at any time original in human knowledge, must be referred to this self-work of the human mind. If it be plain that we can enrich ourselves with the thoughts of others, only when our

own faculties are awake and active, it is much more plain that, to originate any thing, we must depend on our own resources. This is involved in the very idea of originality. It implies that we are something more than recipients of the thoughts of others; that we are the originators, the creators, so to speak, of new thoughts, or new combinations of old thoughts; that we strike out new trains of inquiry, and that we add to the vast stores of knowledge a new and hitherto undiscovered treasure of valuable truth. This must, obviously, be the self-work of the mind. Whence come those wonderful inventions in the operative arts, which seem to render matter instinct with life, and motion, and mind; which extend the field of exertion; quicken industry; do the work of myriads of hands; make the elements the servants of our wills, and put the material universe at our disposal? Whence, but from the patient, often baffled, but constantly renewed and finally triumphant perseverance of a few insulated, self-working minds? Whence, again, come those models of perfection in the arts of imitation and design, which embody in wood and stone the creations of the poet's dream, and 'fill the air around with beauty'? Is it not from the solitary labor of a few individuals, who give themselves up, — 'the world well lost,' — in unbroken, in passionate devotion, to their chosen work. Whence, again, come those discoveries in science, which enable us to look with new admiration on the works of God, and have identified the stupendous and before mysterious operations of nature, with the simplest movements of things around us? The leader and the prince of scientific research has told us; — it is from patient labor of the mind. Whence, again, come those maxims of wisdom, those golden sayings, those luminous views of important subjects, which the condition of the age requires, which mould and fashion it, and give it its distinctive character? Or whence, in fine, come 'those thoughts that breathe, those words that burn,' which have an immortality on earth; which are handed down from age to age as things held consecrate? They are furnished by those gifted sages, and scholars, and poets, whose souls are touched with diviner impulses, who devote their highest powers to retired thought and earnest contemplation, and over whose solitary labors God's better inspiration has passed. Thus it is, that the mind, excited to self-action, self-discipline, self-improvement, assumes a more

clear, bright, apprehensive, and creative state ; sees every thing under new relations ; catches at the most trifling hints and suggestions as the embryo principles of grand discoveries ; and connects the most common and apparently accidental circumstances, with all but miraculous manifestations of important truth.

We have but one suggestion more to make on this part of the subject. Not only must the mind lend its own free coöperation to render instruction effectual ; not only must it act in and of itself to produce new results ; but further, if it will so act, none may place a limit to its progress and improvement. Nothing is more profoundly true, than that ' to him who hath,' that is, to him who well uses what he hath, ' more shall be given.' This is universally true. The seed, duly planted, yields a thousand fold. Wealth, wisely used, produces greater wealth. Influence multiplies itself. And this is especially true of the intellect. Knowledge, in every department of human inquiry, is the germ of indefinite knowledge. Every thought is connected with every other thought, every discovery with every other discovery. All that we gain, therefore, gives us facilities of gaining more. The further we advance, the easier will further advance be made. Meanwhile, the intellect is strengthened by every proper use of it ; every degree of progress gives new ability for higher attainments ; and every single faculty is more and more strengthened by the harmonious and energetic developement of all the rest. Thus while any degree of knowledge, regarded merely as an acquisition, opens a wider and a wider field of view, the mind also at the same time, by the very act of making the acquisition, is strengthened and prepared for new conquests. None then may place a limit to intellectual progress. None may say to that intellect which acts up regularly and resolutely to the full extent of its powers, ' Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.' There are, in all our minds, capacities, which are unknown and unsuspected even by ourselves. They are sometimes dimly revealed to our view, and the glimpse opens to us, as it were, a new internal being. Most persons, we suppose, who have observed the operations of their own minds, may call to remembrance certain periods, occurring, it may be, they scarcely know how or why, when the perceptions of the mind are peculiarly keen ; its relish for beauty more than ordinarily strong

and discriminating ; when difficulties, which have before stood in the way of inquiry, vanish ; when confusion is looked into order ; when prominent and decisive principles stand out in strongly marked relief ; when subjects, hitherto impracticable and unyielding, unfold to us their different parts and capabilities ; when rich and before undiscovered veins of thought are opened to us, as by an enchanter's wand ; when striking and apt illustrations present themselves on every side ; when memory lays before us all her stores ; when, in a word, all the mental operations are freer, bolder, more effective, than they ordinarily are ; when, by a sort of instinctive impulse, the best access to other minds is seized upon ; when meek but strong anticipations of success make labor light, and fervid mental effort a chosen work, a high and distinctive privilege. At such moments we gain intimations of what the human intellect is, and what it can do. We stand amazed at this new revelation of ourselves to ourselves. We resolve, it may be, that we will henceforth be faithful to these glorious capacities, and would we but be true to these resolves, — who or what could place a limit to intellectual progress !

If these remarks on self-education be just, then it is necessary, in the first place, to give efficacy to all those instructions which come from without ; it is, in the second place, in point of fact, the very source of all human improvement ; and, in the third place, when duly carried into effect, leads to an indefinite advancement towards perfection. It would be easy to illustrate these positions by referring to examples of those self-taught men, who, without the ordinary aids of education, have risen to eminence in every department of human pursuit. But this, however interesting it might prove, as well as a consideration of the means and processes of self-instruction, which would be a fitting sequel to these remarks, must be omitted.

We shall only further observe, that the doctrine we have endeavoured to support, is fraught with instruction of the most practical kind, and with motives for improvement the most encouraging.

And, in the first place, let us make a proper estimate of the means of intellectual and moral improvement. Valuable as these certainly are, they are valuable to us, as individuals, so far, and only so far, as we do actually and faithfully use them as aids in self-discipline. And this sim-

ple truth seems to be particularly worthy of attention, at the present day, in reference to prevailing modes of popular instruction. The present is flatteringly called a practical age, by which, if we understand the term (but of this we are by no means confident), is meant an age, wherein all intellectual processes are as much as possible abridged, and are brought to bear, as directly as possible, upon the familiar concerns of life. Hence, countless expedients are proposed for shortening the path to knowledge, and for making it accessible to all. These objects, so far as they can, in reality, and without the sacrifice of higher interests, be effected, are doubtless worthy of regard. But in the pursuit of them, there are some important considerations, which should not be forgotten. Is there not danger that these popular modes of teaching will be apt to render the learners superficial, ignorant, in consequence, of the extent of their ignorance? Is there not reason to fear, that instead of these summary methods of instruction being available to smooth the ascent to the 'summit and absolute principle of any one important subject,' the real thing done, is to keep such subjects out of sight; so that if our progress is apparently rendered easier, it is because our aims are humbler? And above all, should it not be ever kept in view, that, valuable as the results of learning are, even if they could thus cheaply be gained, there is one thing far more valuable, and this is the improvement of the mind itself, that all-comprehending, incomprehensible principle within, which is to outlive all its present necessities, and whose condition, considered in itself alone, is of more importance, in every individual case, than all things else? Any process that serves directly or indirectly to damp its energies, to lap it in indolence, or, in any way, to check its full and perfect developement, is greatly to be deprecated.

And there is another view of this subject which seems to us to be, at this time especially, worthy of particular attention. It is the influence which the attempts to render every thing popular amongst us are liable to exert on the growth and establishment of a sound, a vigorous, an elevated, and truly national literature. How much this has become a crying want of the country, has been amply shown in a former number of this journal. Indeed, does not our present condition as a people render such a literature vitally necessary? Do we not need it to control our selfish pursuits; to adorn

our prosperity ; to bridle the lust, and shame the pride of wealth ; to rebuke frivolity in all its forms ; to raise the tone of public sentiment ; to purify the public taste ; to neutralize, in some measure, the effects of that dark and portentous bigotry, which is now spreading over the land ; to give us ' a name and a praise ' among the nations of the earth ? We have proved ourselves, confessedly, an active, shrewd, enterprising, and indefatigable people. Our yeomanry are among the happiest, most enlightened, and most efficient of any upon earth. Our commercial enterprise has, almost literally, no limits. The productive arts receive and reward a full share of attention. The various professions meet the claims of society, and will, necessarily, always monopolize a large part of the talent of the country. Natural science, in all its branches, is not neglected, and our mechanical invention has made Europeans, in some remarkable instances, our reluctant as well as ungrateful pupils. Our systems of common-school education, and of religious instruction, are, of themselves alone, monuments of prophetic wisdom and of true public spirit, which place the founders of our republic among the greatest legislators who have lived. But while the immediately profitable and necessary interests of life are thus worthily cared for, and a degree of information more widely diffused in our country, than in any other ; it should not be kept out of view, that the higher branches of literature, using the term in its widest extent, have languished for want of culture. More, indeed, has been done, than has been willingly allowed to us ; but still it must be confessed, that profound scholars, in every department of learning, are rare. There are comparatively very few, within the compass of our broad land, whose attainments have depth, solidity, and finish. Such, until recently, has been the natural, and, perhaps, the necessary course of things. America, like the Spartan children, was cradled upon a shield ; and the din of arms was the only music of her infancy. The cares of subsistence, then, and the more productive arts and professions, received, as they ought, the first attention. But we are now becoming rich and powerful, and it is quite time to lay deep and strong the foundations of intellectual greatness. Let us reverently take counsel of our ancestors in this respect. When the country was yet new, and scarcely a spot in the thick and boundless forest was permeable to a sun-beam, they, with a

meek and sublime confidence in their own virtue and energy, and a holy trust in God, who had divided the waters before them and been the pillar and the cloud of their pilgrimage, founded our colleges and schools, and framed all their institutions, not for themselves merely, nor for any merely temporary advantage, but with reference to a future empire. Their endeavours have, as we have said, been greatly blessed. And it now remains for their children to prove themselves worthy of such sires, by carrying forward and perfecting the institutions which they began, with a wise reference to the improved condition of society. The savage has been driven off. The forests have given place to smiling harvest-fields. The resources of the country are every where developing themselves. Good institutions have gained a prescriptive title to our regard. The fabric of government, we may hope, is settling down to a firmer base, and gaining strength by age. Let us now strive for a better literature, and a sounder learning ; for some of the real refinement and grace of life. Let no profligate reviler, with any appearance of truth, again say of our native land,

‘Mind, mind alone, without whose quickening ray,
The world’s a wilderness, and man but clay,
Mind, mind alone, in barren still repose,
Nor blooms, nor rises, nor expands, nor flows.’

When that day comes, when we shall neglect all liberal pursuits, because they do not minister palpably and directly to personal advancement, or a sordid love of gain ; when the remoter influences of letters and taste on individual character shall be disregarded and despised ; when we shall listen exclusively to those political econonists, who legislate for men’s bodies, but forget that they have souls ; when we shall blight, by a cold derision, all generous purposes and high aspirations ; — when that day comes,

‘Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat !’

the era of our national decline will have begun ; our ancestral honors will be our shame and our reproach ; ignorance and barbarism will spread over and blight all that endears or ennobles life. We may live for a while, indeed, on the patrimony of which we have proved ourselves unworthy, we may have for a while, a Tyrian or a Turkish greatness, but ‘thick darkness will cover the land, and gross darkness the people.’

But yet further. We not only need a generous and a sound and noble literature, in the widest scope of the words, but we need, and that too in the strong sense of want, a National literature, a literature of our own. There is a strange insensibility, there is a strange inconsistency in our conduct, on this subject. We are much afraid of those foreign manufactures which interfere with our domestic arts, and make tariffs against them. We scoff at the very idea of the prevalent abuses of the worn-out governments of the old world ; we claim great immunities from their entailed errors and venerable absurdities. But we stand in no fear of a wholesale importation of a literature, which is thoroughly imbued with thoughts and sentiments that have been suggested and formed by that very state of things, which we affect to despise. Alas ! there are here no discriminating duties. Alas ! here nothing is contraband. All, all is received, and, what is worse, is in familiar use amongst us. Would, at least, that we had a sort of literary quarantine, to guard us against the moral pestilence that lurks in most of the fashionable light-reading which comes from abroad. And how is this free reception of a foreign literature to be restrained ? Or rather (and this is the true state of the question) how are we to avail ourselves of it, so far as it is innocent and useful and adapted to our purposes, and, at the same time, to guard ourselves against its injurious effects ? The answer is very obvious. We must, as has been said, produce a literature of our own. We must meet the literary wants of the country from our own resources. We must create amongst ourselves a literature, which, while it is furnished and fraught with all that is excellent in foreign scholarship, shall yet spring from our own soil, be adapted to meet the literary wants of our own country, and breathe the free, racy, original spirit of our own institutions. In one word, we must call into being a truly National literature.

And now the great question is, How is this to be done ? This is the point to which all these remarks have been tending. We do not propose to answer this question in detail. But, it is believed, one thing is especially necessary ; and this is, that we patronize, more than we have done or do, painstaking, persevering, concentrated labor of the mind. It is well, it is certainly very desirable, that, as far as possible, what is already known should be reduced to use, and be spread

as widely as is practicable among the community at large. But if we desire to add any thing to the common stock of knowledge ; if we desire to have a literature of our own ; if we aim at making ourselves felt and appreciated abroad, in any department of science or letters ; we should encourage that division and subdivision of mental labor, which will enable individuals to learn, on any given subject, every thing in regard to it that is elsewhere known, and thus put themselves in a condition to carry forward their researches into fields before untrodden. If we would have the fruitful and generous parts of Classical learning, for example, we must have some amongst us, who will submit to the drudgery of manual-making ; to the minute labors of verbal criticism ; to 'the small pedantry of longs and shorts.' If we would have enough of learning, we must have a superfluity. If we would have a ripe and good scholarship, we must have some scholars, mere scholars, commentators, philologists, exclusive men, in the right sense of the word ; men, who shall think the settling of a Greek accent of more value than the problems of Kepler, and the restoration of true readings in the classics of as much importance as the reformation in religion ; men, who, like the librarian Mai, will weep tears of joy, on the discovery of a blotted manuscript of Fronto, or be ready, like Busby, to 'die of bad Latin.' Not that these are the most profitable members of a literary community, or that they occupy the 'high places in the field' of learning ; but that we want some of all the different kinds of literary laborers. The country can now support, and should therefore possess, masters in every branch of study. We should encourage our young men, as soon as their minds are sufficiently developed to give decisive indications of their peculiar aptitudes, to choose that province in which they are willing to pass their days, and to which they will devote all that they are, and all that they can do. It is by the influence of such thorough men, in every department of literature, that our summary and superficial modes of education are to be corrected, that the standard of acquisition is to be raised, and the swelling sufficiency of half-learning is to be repressed. It is such men, especially, who are the only fitting and worthy instructors of those of our youth, who in the noble language of Milton, 'shall be inflamed with the study of learning and with admiration of virtue, stirred up with high hopes of living

to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages.'

Let not these remarks be misunderstood: The popular modes of instruction at this period so generally in vogue in this country may be, and no doubt are, to a certain extent, beneficial. But to be so, it must be previously settled, what they really are, and what they can do. They must be, necessarily, very popular in their character. They must consist, mainly, of results, and of results, moreover, adapted to interest a promiscuous assembly. And is there not great danger, therefore, that they will assume a striking and imposing character, rather than one which is really and solidly useful? — that they will partake more of the efflorescence than of the fruits of the tree of knowledge? Still, undoubtedly, they may be valuable both in an intellectual and moral point of view. They may serve to excite the dormant mind to a consciousness of its own powers; suggest new topics of thought; give new and higher themes to conversation; improve the public taste; afford an opportunity for early talent to exert itself; and spread abroad profitable truths, which before were known only to a few. Their moral influence, too, may be valuable. They may afford an innocent and rational means of relaxation, and thus call off attention from those which are frivolous, or worse than frivolous; they may improve social feeling, by bringing all classes of the community together for a common object; and, what is greatly desirable in the divided and distracted state of public sentiment in regard to some great interests which now, so unhappily, prevails, they may serve to neutralize those feelings of estrangement, which are liable to separate good and worthy men of all parties, lead them to think and act in unison in reference to those points on which they can agree, and to forget, for a time at least, those upon which they feel obliged to differ. All this is well. All this is excellent. And all this, our popular modes of instruction, provided they are seconded by the coöperation and mental labor of those who are the subjects of them, may effect. But is this all to which a people, situated as we are, at this period of the world, ought to aim? Should we not aspire to a higher culture, to a profounder research, and to a more original effort? And it is respectfully suggested, whether, in thus attempting to render popular all the subjects of hu-

man inquiry, the strength and energy of the mind will not be impaired ;— whether it will not be led to content itself with the more obvious and striking views of subjects ;— whether it will not be liable to overlook, in an exclusive devotion to what, in the vulgar sense of the term, is *useful* and *practical*, that which is thorough and profound, but which is ultimately, in all cases, and, in point of fact, will be found to be, the most really and practically useful of all ;— whether they will not have a tendency to cripple that self-thought and native energy, which can alone enable our men of letters to take their places on equal ground, side by side, with the best proficients of the old world ;— whether that dissipation of intellect, that almost exclusive attention to near and immediately productive pursuits, that devotion of the intellect of the country to merely popular objects, which so generally prevail, do not inevitably tend to make us tributaries to the old world, for almost all we think or know of the best culture and products of the mind, make us dependent on them for their literature, and incapable of producing one of our own ;— and, in fine, whether, when we can linger, creditably, on the pleasant declivities of the mountain, we shall be in earnest in toiling up its rugged sides, in encountering the chill and thin atmosphere of its higher steep, where alone those original fountains are to be opened, which will send forth streams of refreshment and fertility to the dwellers below ?

We conclude these remarks with one further suggestion. Is intellectual and moral improvement, under God, mainly the mind's own work ?— Then let none despair under the pressure of adverse circumstances. Nothing can keep down the spirit that is truly alive to its own high interests. As each human soul is of more value in the sight of God than the whole external universe, so has He endowed it with capacities of improvement, that nothing external, if it be just to itself, can destroy. It possesses, in itself, the means of its own advancement ; and nothing but its own self-desertion can stop its onward course. Embarrassments, difficulties, distresses, though they may seem, for the time, appalling, are yet but the means and aids of its progress towards perfection. They nerve its powers as nothing else can. They throw it upon its own resources. They develope its hitherto unknown and unsuspected energies. They bring its metal and temper to the proof. They strengthen and improve all

its faculties. It is not the hard conflict of opposing circumstances that we have most reason to fear ; but the seductive and debasing influences of prosperity and ease. The history of the world is one continued illustration of this. In the achievements of intellect we shall find the worthiest trophies have been won by the sons of poverty, obscurity, and restricted opportunities. We see them, as it were, by an instinctive principle of their natures, selecting from circumstances, apparently the most unfriendly, the elements of their future greatness. And the same is familiarly true of moral and religious excellence. It is often born in adversity ; it is often nurtured upon tears, and learns to win its crown in heaven, by bearing its cross here below. And if there be any exhibition of the human character vouchsafed to the view of mortals, more sublime than all others ; any trait, which, in a peculiar manner, authenticates its divine original ; it is the example of a man placed by Providence amidst adverse and depressing circumstances, yet faithful to the wants and calls of the heaven-born and heaven-directed spirit within him ; — beset with disheartening evils in his outward lot, and almost sinking under the more dreadful heart-sickness of despondency, yet contending still ; — borne down and kept down by poverty, alone and unfriended, yet struggling on ; — meeting, it may be, with cold unconcern, or the half-derisive pity of the favorites and fools of fortune, yet undismayed ; — called to encounter real obstacles in his path, and the more fearful ones of his own imagination, yet pressing onward ; — watching and waiting on through the utter darkness of the night, yet sustained by a meek self-trust, by a prophetic hope, and, above all, by an unshaken confidence in the Father of his spirit ; — until, at length, he catches glimpses of an auspicious dawn, unseen by the common eye, that dawn which is to ‘ brighten and brighten into the perfect day ’ ; — now encouraged more and more by favoring tokens ; — now redoubling his exertions with his strengthening hopes ; — now mounting upwards from step to step in the path-ways of usefulness and honor ; — until, at last, he reaps the full rewards of his noble efforts in triumphant success ; this, to our mind, is a spectacle of moral greatness, compared with which the splendor of all other earthly distinctions grows pale.

We here close these remarks. Is it true, that the intellect-

ual and moral education of man is mainly committed to himself?—Then it remains for every man, under God alone, to say, what he will know, and what he will be. Nothing external, as we have seen, can ultimately stop his progress; so nothing external, beyond a certain point, can help him onwards. His trust must be in himself; and if he be faithful to this trust, he will aim high, he will aspire nobly. Let him be deeply smitten with the love of excellence. Let habitual self-improvement be the grand object of his life. Let self-discipline be never intermitted even for a moment. Progress, continual progress, progress on earth, and progress in heaven, is the law of his being. His destiny ever beckons him forward, and still further forward, and let this be the only signal that he obeys.

ART. IV.—*The Atoning Sacrifice, a Display of Love, not of Wrath.* By NOAH WORCESTER. Second edition. Cambridge, Hilliard & Brown. 1830. 12mo. pp. 247.

THIS book, we presume, is already known to most of our readers. To those who have not read it, or do not own it, and who wish to gain clear and consistent views on the subject of the effects of the death of Christ, or in other words, the doctrine of the Atonement, we recommend it as being precisely the work which they need, and should possess. A single perusal of such a treatise is not enough. It embraces so many topics, and discusses them with such a variety of learning, that it should be kept at hand for occasional reference.

No one, we think, can justly be offended by this book. Dr. Worcester has displayed in it, throughout, that modesty, humility, equableness of temper, and love of peace, which mark his other writings. If any reader should be made angry in his progress through the volume, it will be because his opinions are opposed, and not because they are opposed in an improper manner. With all this gentleness and kindness, however, there is no want of openness. Honesty and plainness of speech are not in any degree sac-

rificed to a false notion of charity. They are sacrifices which real charity disdains to accept.

Great acuteness, also, is manifested in this work. When we say acuteness, we do not mean a low, trap-like cunning in argument ; a constant watchfulness to circumvent an opponent, to torture words, and to lead off attention from the true object of inquiry ; but we mean a clear apprehension of fallacies, however plausible and disguised they may be ; a steady regard to the main points in debate, and a happy perception and application of the principles of common sense and eternal reason. We would mention Chapter XXVII. on the 'Supposed Evils of Pardon without Substituted Suffering,' as only one instance of this acuteness. From this chapter we must allow ourselves an extract or two.

'In a sermon, entitled "The Gospel according to Paul," Dr. Beecher has expressed his views in the following language :—

"But to hold out to all subjects the certainty of pardon for all transgressions, upon the simple condition of repentance, must be, in its effects, an entire abolition of the penalty, and an utter prostration of government by law."

"It is not a subject of momentary doubt, that pardon upon the simple condition of repentance, would break the power of every human government on earth." He also asks :—

"And does God govern the universe upon principles which would fill the earth with anarchy, and turn it into a hell?"

'By the word "*repentance*," when used to express the condition of pardon, I understand a real change of disposition and conduct, a turning from sin to the path of obedience, — a cordial and practical *reformation*. Of course, it is impossible for me to conceive how a government could be endangered by granting pardon on condition of *repentance*, any more than by having its enemies converted into friends. Even should *all* the transgressors avail themselves of the offer of pardon, and avoid the penalty by repentance, I should suppose the government would be rather strengthened than weakened by its policy.

'That the pardons granted by human governments are sometimes the effect of weakness or imperfection, is not to be doubted. But I am far from thinking that pardons would be more "rare" if governments were more perfect. Indeed, it is my opinion, that under every perfect government, the peni-

tent will always be pardoned. Human rulers, however, are but men, liable to be deceived by false professions of repentance. Hence they have occasion to be on their guard, lest, by intended clemency, they endanger the public welfare. Besides, at the present day, men have but an imperfect knowledge of the principles of overcoming evil with good; and enlightened rulers are sometimes overruled by an ill-informed public opinion. But when public opinion shall be more enlightened, and the spirit of Christian philanthropy shall more abound, greater care will be taken to reform the vicious, and to pardon the penitent. Then the policy of human government will more resemble that of the government of God.

"On the part of God, there can be no danger of being deceived by false professions; nor of granting pardon, without sufficient reasons." pp. 176, 177.

Commenting further on Dr. Beecher's notions about law and the divine government, he thus sets in a strong light the opposition of those notions to the plain declarations of Scripture.

'I would now request the reader's attention to the following contrasts between the language of the Bible, and the language of Dr. Beecher:—

'God says,—"*The soul that sinneth it shall die,—the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. But if the wicked turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die.*" Ezek. xviii. 20, 21.

'Dr. Beecher says,—"*Let the criminal code go out with the threat,—'The murderer shall surely be put to death; provided, nevertheless, that if he shall repent, he shall not die, and no evil shall betide him.'* Would not such legislation be the consummation of folly and mischief?"

'Our Saviour said,—"*He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*"

'Dr. Beecher says,—"*Threatenings which carry with them the certainty of easy evasion, contain no restraint, exert no moral power, and are as if they were not.*"

'It is thus that the Doctor has reasoned against "pardon upon the simple condition of repentance." It is this condition which he represents as so "easy" to be complied with, that pardon on such a condition would "be, in its effects, an entire abolition of the penalty" of the law, render "threatenings—no restraint," and "as if they were not."

'But is not the policy of which Dr. Beecher has said so ma-

ny harsh things, one of the most prominent features in the revelation of divine mercy to mankind? Is it not the principal thing on account of which the heavenly message by Jesus Christ is called the *gospel*, the *good tidings*? The preaching of our Lord presents to our view the requirements and prohibitions of God, accompanied by "threatenings" of evil to the disobedient, and the most gracious promises of pardon on condition of repentance. How then are we to account for the fact, that Dr. Beecher has represented such "legislation," such connecting offers of pardon to the penitent, with threatening of evil to transgressors, as "the consummation of folly and mischief," and as a policy which, if adopted by human governments, would "fill the world with anarchy, and turn it into a hell?" If I am not under a great mistake, Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, are all involved in the censures implied in Dr. Beecher's remarks; yet I cannot suppose that he was aware of such a sweeping implication.' — pp. 181, 182.

With the above extracts we must content ourselves. Our purpose in the remainder of this article, is to speak more fully than Dr. Worcester has done, or probably could have done consistently with the plan and limits of his work, of the Death of Christ as an Example. With our author we can say, that 'if there are any Christians who believe that the only purpose of Christ's death was to exhibit a perfect example under sufferings, we are not of that number.' With him also we are of opinion, that this was 'a purpose of far greater importance than has been generally supposed by Christians.'

We do not believe that sufficient importance has been attributed, by any class of Christians, to the sight of a suffering and dying Saviour. Not only the effects which ought to be produced by that sight, but those which really have been produced by it, have been too much overlooked. The disciples of the popular system of substitution have been so absorbed by the grand mystical notion that Christ suffered in our stead the punishment due to our sins, and thus appeased the wrath of his Father against us, that they have been too apt to regard with a sentiment approaching to contempt the proposition that he suffered, not in our stead, but for our sakes, and for our example. On the other hand, they who speak of the death of Christ as an example to his followers,

have not often set forth the fulness of the power which really belongs to it as such, and which it has actually and constantly exerted. They have been in the habit of considering it as appealing to our sympathies, rather than as rousing up and strengthening our mental and moral energies. In the mean time the invigorating and sustaining influences of the Redeemer's death have been exerting themselves everywhere, more strongly felt than acknowledged, and have thus made the practical faith of the former class more rational, and of the latter more glowing and impressive, than their respective systems and discourses.

We question not the effects of the sight of a dying Saviour on our most tender sympathies, nor the great value of those effects; but we say that when these have been the most fully and truly stated, the half has not been told us of the influences of that holy and heroic example. We have not been told of the constancy which it has taught to virtuous purpose; of the invincibleness which it has imparted to high resolutions; of the noble disregard to the world and its pleasures with which it has animated multitudes of disciples; of the soul of courage and fortitude which it has breathed into the whole Christian body. Or if we have heard of these things, we have not heard enough of them. They have not been presented to us with a frequency and a force in due proportion to their reality and their might. We have heard more of tears, than of thoughts 'too deep for tears.' We have heard more of how the bosom has been softened and melted, than of how it has been armed by the contemplation of the most exalted of sufferers. We are weak, and exposed in our weakness to many a severe conflict, and therefore we need armour for our defence and protection; and we have received it, and put it on, and addressed ourselves to the fight, confident of safety and success. That has been done by many in every age, which all are exhorted to do by the Apostle Peter, in a text, which is quoted in the work before us. 'Forasmuch then,' he says, 'as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind.' He does not say, 'Forasmuch as Christ hath suffered for us, consider yourselves pardoned from all sin by the mysterious efficacy of his atoning blood,' or, 'Lament and weep at the affecting spectacle'; but he says, 'Arm yourselves likewise

with the same mind ; put on the mind of the Lord Jesus, that same mind with which he underwent his sufferings, put it on as armour over your frail flesh, and take the sword of his spirit in your hand, and they shall carry you through the warfare, and gain for you the victory.' Here is recognised, in the clearest and strongest manner, the mental and moral efficacy of the death of Christ ; its powerful efficacy in arming and guarding the hearts of believers ; the efficacy which it has always had, in different forms and degrees, upon the true Christian character, ever since the day of the crucifixion.

The death of Christ was a voluntary death for the cause of truth and virtue and human happiness. He might have lived. A word added, or a word spared, might have saved him from the cross. A change in his course, a little deviation from his forward path, a little subserviency to the great and powerful, a little management of the crowd, might have secured life to him, with riches and honors, and all the pleasures which they have to give. But no ; he hesitated not, faltered not, turned not aside. Looking alone and steadily to the ends of his mission, to the supreme requirements of truth, to the will of his Father, and to the glories of eternity, the world faded away from his sight, and he went on to certain torture and death. 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem,' said he to his disciples just before the last passover. What sublimity there is in those simple words ! Jerusalem was to him but another name for death. If he went up there, at that time, he was sure to die. He saw the tribunal ; he saw the bonds ; he saw the dark cross, as plainly as we see objects which are before our mortal eyes. And calmly, and with a resolution too fixed to need many words for its expression, he gathers his little band of disciples about him, and says to them, 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem.' The disciples were confounded ; for they did not yet know their Master, as they afterwards knew him ; and they endeavoured to alter his purpose, but in vain. They went up to Jerusalem ; and the innocent and just one was betrayed, condemned, and crucified, as he himself had said. Here then there was a manifestation of superiority over those things which men are too much disposed extravagantly to love, or to fear and obey, and against the power of which they needed to be armed. Here was shown a noble superiority over the love

of life ; not indeed an entire contempt of life, but a preference for those invisible but eternal things which are better than life, for truth and for duty. Here was shown a superiority over the fear and the infliction of bodily pain in one of its severest forms. Not that we were taught, against the express teachings of nature, that pain is not to be feared and avoided, but that it is not to be feared so much as God and his commandments are to be loved, nor to be avoided at the risk of offending conscience and inflicting severer pains upon the soul. Here was shown a superiority over the fear of man ; a gentle, noiseless, unassuming, but yet a real and high superiority ; not angrily, not proudly, not unreasonably setting at nought the opinions of society, or despising the persons of men, but, being founded on a far-seeing and all-comprehending love of mankind, which cared for their true interests more earnestly, and discerned them more clearly, than they did themselves, rose above their petty opposition and rage, which could only endure for a moment, as it did above the pangs of the body, which alone they had the power to kill.

Regard these manifestations. Look at this voluntary death for truth and virtue. Contemplate these exhibitions of superiority of mind over matter ; of soul over sense ; of the love of duty and of God over the love of life and its enjoyments ; of the pure and wise love of man over the selfish and slavish fear of man ; and when they are united with the reverence which is due to the Founder of our religion, say whether their influence is to be overrated. It is not necessary, indeed, that they should be drawn at length and explained, in order that they may produce their effects. And this is just what we mean to say. Without explanation, they have been understood. Without discourse, they have been felt. The sight of the cross itself has always been the best revelation of its greatest mysteries. Many a Christian character has been formed by it. Many a champion of truth has been armed by it. Many a sufferer for righteousness' sake has indued himself with invincibility by putting on the mind of his Master. He has been surrounded by those who have been lovers of the world more than lovers of God ; his integrity has been tempted ; his conscience has been argued with ; his love of life and his fear of pain and death have been appealed to ; but when he

has looked to the cross, and to him who is hanging so still thereon, he has perceived with a glance the mind of his Saviour, and has armed himself with the same, and has felt strong to answer, 'My part is taken. I must follow him. Indifferent to life, indifferent to its comforts and endearments, God knows that I am not; but I cannot enjoy them, I dare not enjoy them, on your conditions. For yourselves, live; remain on the earth a few hours longer; try to believe that the greatest good is here; try to prove to yourselves that truth and liberty are names alone; try to laugh at the enthusiasm which holds them to be real and priceless; enjoy your fortunes, your houses, your families, your comforts, your ease;—I turn away my face from them all; I go to suffer, and to die.'

The mind of Jesus,—the same mind,—this it is which has been clothing and arming men with the armour of salvation, and the whole armour of God. And it has been proved not only by those who have fought against death, but by many others, who, not called into that field, have contended victoriously against the enemies of the spirit. Whoever, by regarding the death of his Master, has been made strong by that high example to deny himself forbidden gratifications, or resist unjust impositions at the risk of any worldly possession or pleasure, has armed himself with the same mind as his, and the death of Christ has thus been his salvation. We say, the death of Christ has thus been his salvation; for what other meaning are we to give to the words of the apostle which immediately follow those already quoted; 'Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind; for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin; that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God.' He hath ceased from sin. Having endured temporal privation or suffering, for the sake of spiritual health and the cause of eternal liberty, and thus recognised and acknowledged the supreme worth of the soul, and the superiority of its interests over the interests of the body, he hath ceased from sin; he hath overcome earthly allurements; he hath shown himself to be spiritually minded; he hath obeyed the will of God rather than the lusts of men. It is not meant that there is henceforth no possibility of his sinning, but that his life is

guided by the pure principles of religion, and is free from the dominion of flesh and sense. He has been redeemed by the cross of Christ. He has armed himself with the mind of his suffering and dying Master, and thus his sufferings and his death have saved him.

Again, it is to be considered that the death of Christ was an exceedingly ignominious one in the eyes of the world at that time. The death of the cross was a punishment reserved almost exclusively for convicts and slaves. We all can understand how different from each other are what is called a death of honor, and what is thought a death of shame. We all know how the one is illustrated by the glowing light of eloquence, and crowned with the choicest wreaths of poetry, and how the other is left to darkness and to weeds. Comparatively it is easy to die a death which the opinions and customs of men have surrounded with glory. Thousands have chosen such a one. But to undergo a death which men term ignominious; to be made a warning spectacle; to suffer and die not only without applause, but almost without commiseration; to be exposed as a criminal, where they who pass by may wag their heads and point the finger, that is the trial, that is the agony. It is not to be supposed that the mind of Jesus was insensible to the appalling circumstances of such a death, but yet he triumphed over them, and then, on the cross, he taught the world the memorable truth, to be kept in the hearts of his disciples for ever, that honor and dishonor do not depend on circumstances, however appalling, but on the character of the victim, and the cause in which he suffers. Though he was like God, in the power and dignity with which God had invested him, yet he humbled himself, and submitted to the death of a slave. How soon the disciples learnt, from this exhibition of the mind of their Saviour, what is glory and what is shame. How high it raised them above the misconceptions and false notions of the world. How deeply they came to reverence the very instrument of that death, which before was looked upon with abhorrence. 'God forbid that I should glory,' exclaims the Apostle Paul, 'save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.' He had armed himself with the mind of his Master; that same mind with which he encountered public shame as well as bodily tor-

ture, rather than renounce his heavenly commission, and give up the cause of mankind, and prove false to his own spirit. Here was a mind prepared to perform miracles. Here was armour to defend the inner man from the weapons of ignominy as well as death, and enable him to beat down, not only the opposition and the cruelty of the world, but its scorn and mockery also, under his feet. Many and many have armed themselves with the same. 'He despised the shame,' has been the motto of their shield, and so they have despised it, and accounted it honor and gain. This is one of the truest and most distinguishing sentiments of Christianity, this feeling of the real and paramount honor of virtue and devotion to God's service. It has been inspired into the hearts of the obedient and holy by nothing so much as by the death of Christ; not even so much by his precepts and commands, as by the clear and ever-present manifestation of his cross.

But this is not the whole. This is not the entire description of that perfect mind of our suffering Master, with which every true disciple of his has armed himself more or less completely. Let it be noted, that the mind of Jesus in his sufferings and death, was not alone a mind exalted above the dread of pain and of disgrace, but also above the least expression of resentment, desire of revenge, or murmur of discontent. That was the heaven of heavens into which his soul had ascended, while his flesh was quivering in mortal anguish. At that dreadful hour, when some word of reproach or repining might have been expected, if ever from him, his mind was all forgiveness to his enemies, and all resignation to his Father. A few sentences of pardon, and sympathy, and piety were all that escaped from his lips. 'This day shalt thou be with me in paradise;' 'Son, behold thy mother; Mother, behold thy son;' the first stanza of the funeral hymn of his nation, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!' 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do;' 'It is finished;' 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;'—these were all. And what a mind they show!—the heroism of perfect love. All that is verily Christian, in what is called the Christian world, has partaken of this mind, and formed itself upon this model, the pattern of the courage, and fortitude, and love, of the death of Christ. Armed with this

same mind, the apostles went forth conquering and to conquer. Mail-clad with the same constancy, resignation, and long-suffering, the protomartyr Stephen, though stoned to death in the highway, achieved a victory like that of his Leader; and soon afterwards, James followed him in the path of conquest, though 'killed with the sword,' at the command of a tyrant. We see how early the great example of the Master's death infused itself into the souls of his disciples. We see how well they understood from his lifeless body, that which they had learned so imperfectly from his living lips. We see how closely they could now emulate and copy the victories of him who loved us and gave himself for us. They received full supplies of wisdom and courage from that very cross, at the erection of which they had fled in despair. They labored, as Jesus did, for the welfare of mankind, and died, as he died, in the divine and all-vanquishing love of those by whose hands they were slain. For them, and for all who have been of the same mind, and have achieved similar conquests, a glorious promise is written; 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.'

So far, then, from being unimportant in itself, we regard the example of the death of Christ as most important, all important. So far from being inferior in consideration to some other more mystical points of doctrine relating to his death, it has done almost all that has been done in counteracting the evil tendencies of those dogmas, and in preserving among Christians, in their feelings, convictions, and practice, if not in their creeds and books, the true doctrine of the cross, which has kept streaming down in direct illumination from the cross itself. If the idea of a stern and strange divine justice, which could not be merciful till it had exacted a full satisfaction, has been unpropitious to the formation of a gentle and forgiving character, the sight of a dying Saviour, who bore all, and forgave all, has often come in, to check the hostile influence, and teach a more Christian lesson. If the idea that men are saved by the imputed merits of the Saviour, has tended to paralyze individual exertion, as useless and worthless, the exhibition of them on the cross has excited more generous thoughts, preserved the inner life in its vigor, and compelled men actively and sav-

ingly to imitate those merits on which they professed idly though gratefully to lean. True and excellent Christians have believed in the doctrine of substitution; but it is not that belief which has made them like their Master. They have declared that they were saved by the mysterious efficacy of his atoning blood; but they have felt that they were not saved, and could not be saved, till they had armed themselves with his mind.

ART. V. — *The Light of Nature Pursued*. By ABRAHAM TUCKER, Esq. From the Second London edition, revised and corrected. *Together with some Account of the Life of the Author*, by Sir H. P. ST. JOHN MILD-MAY, Bart. M. P. In 4 volumes. 8vo. Cambridge. Hilliard and Brown. 1831.

WE welcome the first American edition of this curious, entertaining, and, in many respects, valuable work. The author's acknowledged ability, the wide range given to his thoughts, the interesting and practical character of many of his topics, and the sprightliness and broad humor which pervade his speculations even on topics the driest and most abstruse, make it difficult to account for the fact, that he has not been more generally known and read. The first two volumes, in five parts, were published by himself in 1768, and not in 1765, as asserted in the memoir; and the third volume, in four parts, was published by his daughter, three years after his death, in 1777. The whole as bound up made seven octavo volumes, which were favorably noticed by the reviewers as they came out; but in other respects the work appears to have attracted but little attention.* The second edition, in eight volumes octavo, from

* The author of the Abridgment of Tucker says, that he was 'discouraged by his friends, neglected by the public, and ridiculed by the reviewers.' It was not so. Both the Critical and the Monthly Review notice and recommend his works in terms of more than usual respect. The latter, especially, not only gives a careful and extended analysis of his writings, continued through eight or ten numbers, but takes frequent occasion to extol him as a writer and philosopher above, as we should say, rather than below his deserts.

which the present is taken, did not appear till 1805, and there has been no call, we believe, for another in England. 'The Light of Nature,' it has been justly said, would have found its way into more general circulation, if it had been less voluminous; and yet an excellent Abridgment of it, published in 1807, by the author of 'An Essay on the Principles of Human Action,' does not appear to have met with a better reception. Tucker's name is not mentioned in Aikin's 'General Biographical Dictionary,' nor is any notice taken of his writings in Mr. Stewart's 'Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy.'

As if to make amends for such neglect, those who have spoken of Tucker at all, have commonly spoken of him in terms of extravagant eulogy. Dr. Paley says, in the Preface to his 'Moral and Political Philosophy,' 'I have found in this writer more original thinking and observation upon the several subjects that he has taken in hand, than in any other, not to say in all others put together.' The author of the Abridgment to which I have just referred, himself an able writer, also affirms, 'I do not know of any work in the shape of a philosophical treatise, that contains so much good sense so agreeably expressed. The character of the work is, in this respect, altogether singular. Amidst all the abstruseness of the most subtle disquisitions, it is as familiar as Montaigne, and as wild and entertaining as John Bunce.' Dr. Parr quotes 'The Light of Nature' more frequently than any other book in the Notes to his 'Spital Sermon,' and even goes so far in one instance as expressly to place the author of it at the very head of the great English moralists. He has also found, as is well known, an equally warm but more discriminating admirer in Sir James Mackintosh, one of whose letters on this subject has been preserved and published by Dr. Parr's biographer, which, as it relates to the history of the edition here followed, and contains moreover some valuable criticisms, we shall copy entire.

MY DEAR SIR,

Searle Street, 1st Dec. 1800.

I thought it useless to answer your letter till I could answer your inquiries about Tucker, which I now do, by informing you that he was of Merton college, Oxford. Whether he took a degree there or not, I could not ascertain, but you will

easily ascertain that point by inquiries at Oxford. The person whom I employed to make these inquiries was Malthus, the author of the "Essay on the Principles of Population," who lives in the neighbourhood of what was Mr. Tucker's seat. Sir H. St. John Mildmay, to whom Malthus applied for information, is the grandson of Tucker, and has an intention of publishing a complete edition of his grandfather's work, including some detached tracts, and an unpublished dissertation on the Logos. He is to send me a sketch of the life of Tucker written by his daughter, Miss Tucker. I am very willing to assist him in his edition, and I hope it is not too late to recover more particulars of the life of this great philosopher than are contained in his daughter's sketch, as some of his contemporaries are still alive. It seems to me, that an analysis of "The Light of Nature" would be a useful part of such a republication. It is a work which needs to be analysed. It is never concise, and not always methodical. I should be under the necessity of charging Search with ungrateful plagiarism from Hartley. His chapter on "Translated Passion" is a very mean attempt to hide his theft by a paltry change of expression. It will be painful to lay such an offence to the charge of a great and a good man; but the morality of literature requires that severe justice should be executed on such thefts, and especially on those men of genius who stoop to such petty larcenies.

Ever yours,

JAMES MACKINTOSH.*

It is much to be regretted that the professional engagements of this gentleman, and his call soon after to a high judicial station in the East, prevented him from assisting the editor of Tucker's works, as he had intended. The edition appeared in 1805, containing the suppressed chapter on the Logos, but none of the 'detached tracts,' of which Sir James Mackintosh speaks. An account of the author's life is prefixed, but it is meagre and unsatisfactory, being taken almost exclusively from his daughter's sketch mentioned above, or rather, as it would seem, from a few biographical notes, or hints, found among her papers.

Mr. Tucker was born in London, September 2, 1705. His father, a wealthy merchant, dying soon afterwards, the care of his early education devolved on his maternal uncle, Sir Isaac Tillard. This gentleman's private worth, and the

* Parr's Works, vol. I. pp. 702, 703, note.

indefatigable pains which he took to imbue his nephew's opening mind with the principles of honor, benevolence, and liberality, were always remembered by the latter with extreme affection and gratitude. In matters of taste, and in the higher branches of learning, it does not appear that our author was much indebted to Sir Isaac's suggestions. When Tucker was called on, as a boy, to pay a periodical compliment to some distant relations, he was invariably referred by his guardian to St. Paul's Epistles, as the most complete model of epistolary correspondence. After having passed through the usual course of a liberal education, he went into chambers in the Inner Temple about the year 1724, where for some time he applied himself very assiduously to the study of the law, though not, as it would seem, with any expectation of ever being called to the bar. In 1727, he purchased Betchworth Castle, near Dorking, where he spent the remainder of his days in the pursuits and amusements proper to a rich country gentleman; peculiarly happy in his domestic connexions, and a bright example of the domestic virtues. The reference to his courtship in the chapter on 'Satisfaction,' and the account of his interview with his wife in 'The Vision,' are among the most beautiful and touching passages in his great work.

Mr. Tucker had no turn for politics, and refused, for this reason, to offer himself as a representative for his county, though often urged to do so, and never but once could be prevailed on to attend a county meeting. He took no active part in the proceedings on that occasion; but this did not prevent the whigs from introducing him into a ludicrous ballad, a circumstance which afforded him abundant matter for humorous animadversion ever afterward. 'Whenever politics were the subject of conversation he seldom failed to advert to the ill success of his only essay in public life; and he was so much amused with the figure he made in verse, that he set the ballad to music.' Mr. Tucker was a Christian. Of his theological opinions we shall have occasion to speak more at length presently. Here it will be enough to say that, as an open asserter and advocate of esotericks and exotericks, he took care to make his exotericks accord with the established religion, and probably would have done so if, instead of being the church of England, it had been the church of Rome. 'It is amusing to observe,' says the author

of the Abridgment repeatedly noticed before, 'with what gravity he sets himself to inveigh against freethinkers and freethinking; when he himself, as to his mode of reasoning, is one of the greatest of freethinkers. He seems to have been willing to *keep the game* entirely in his own hands; or else to have supposed that the liberal exercise of reason was only proper for gentlemen of independent fortune; and that none but those who were in the commission of the peace, should be allowed to censure vulgar errors.'

His wife died in 1754, an event which overwhelmed him in the deepest affliction; and it was soon after this, and partly with a view to occupy and divert his mind, that he first turned his attention to the composition of the work before us. In order to ascertain, as it would seem, what degree of attention and favor he was likely to receive from the public, he published in 1763 a small octavo volume, consisting, for the most part, of selections from what he had already written, under the title of 'Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate; a Fragment, by Edward Search.' It is remarkable that Mr. Tucker never published any thing under his own name, owing partly perhaps, as his friends have said, to his indisposition to attract public notice as an author, but still more, as we suspect, to his unwillingness to incur an author's responsibility. His preference for the name of Search, under which the fragment above mentioned, and the first volumes of the entire work, were given to the world, grew out of the conceit, frequently adverted to in his writings, that all the philosophers who had ever appeared belonged either to the family of the Searches, or that of the Knowalls. The other printed works of Mr. Tucker, 'The Country Gentleman's Advice to his Son on the Subject of Party Clubs,' which appeared in 1755, 'Man in quest of Himself, by Cuthbert Comment,' in reply to some strictures that appeared in the *Monthly Review* in 1763, and a short tract on 'Vocal Sounds,' written at a still later period, were ephemeral productions, which made no impression at the time, and have long since passed into oblivion.

We learn from Mr. Tucker's biographer that he was conscious of his want of skill as a writer, and endeavoured to supply his defects in this respect by employing himself for some time previous to his great undertaking in the study of the best Greek and Latin models, the most admired pas-

sages of which he actually took the pains of translating several times over. He also made several sketches of 'The Light of Nature,'* before he finally decided on the method he should pursue; and after he had ultimately arranged and digested the materials, twice transcribed the whole copy of that part of the work which was published before his death, in his own hand. As the personal and especially the literary habits of men of distinction are always interesting, we shall insert the following minute and circumstantial account of our author's.

'Mr. Tucker, though by no means of an athletic form, or a robust constitution, possessed great bodily activity. He always rose early in the morning to pursue his literary labors. During the winter months, he commonly burnt a lamp in his chamber for the purpose of lighting his own fire. After breakfast he returned again to his studies, for two or three hours, and passed the remainder of the morning in walking, or in some rural exercise. As he was remarkably abstemious, he lost but little time at the table, but usually spent the early part of the evening in summer in walking over his estate, collecting information on all agricultural subjects from his tenants, and committing the results of their practical experience to paper. In winter, he completed the regular measure of his exercise, by traversing his own apartment, and after accomplishing the distance he had allotted to himself, he employed the remainder of the afternoon in reading to his daughters. In London, where he resided some months in every year, his time was apportioned, nearly in the same manner, between study and relaxation; and he commonly devoted much of his evenings to the society of his friends, relations, and fellow collegians, among whom he was particularly distinguished for his dexterity in the Socratic method of disputation. His walks were chiefly directed to the transaction of any incidental business, always choosing rather to execute his own commissions, even of the most trivial nature,

* It is said in the *Life*, (p. viii.) that he printed one of these sketches 'in the form of a dialogue.' We doubt whether he ever printed any sketch of his work excepting the *Fragment* abovementioned, which his biographer appears never to have seen. It consists, for the most part, of the long chapter on *Freewill* with a running commentary by Cuthbert Comment, who performs the part of an interlocutor. Cuthbert calls in question several of the positions, holds them up in different points of view, and sometimes is made to attack the author himself with a good-humored raillery.

than to entrust them to a third person. This singularity arose from the construction of his mind, which was rarely satisfied without some object in view; and when no inducement presented itself, he would sometimes walk from Great James Street, where he resided, to St. Paul's or to the Bank, to see, as he would good-humoredly observe, what it was o'clock.' — Vol. I. p. x.

Mr. Tucker appears to have had but little intercourse with the distinguished scholars of his day. There are however one or two allusions to letters of his still existing, on literary subjects, which leave us to regret that his biographer did not make more use of them in drawing up the memoir. For several years previous to his death he was troubled with a weakness in his eyes, which gradually brought on cataracts and terminated at last in total blindness. This affliction, the greatest which could befall a man of his pursuits, he bore with a characteristic cheerfulness, diverting himself not a little with the blunders into which he was sometimes betrayed by his infirmity. With the aid of his daughter, and some mechanical contrivances for writing, he still went on with his work until, in 1774, the whole was ready for the press. Before, however, the necessary arrangements were concluded for its publication, he was seized with an illness which proved fatal; and he died, as he had lived, with perfect calmness and resignation.

Here we must say that a recent and pretty careful examination of Mr. Tucker's great work has materially lowered our estimate of his abilities as a metaphysician and moral philosopher. He has thrown together, it is true, a multitude of apt and amusing illustrations; his practical reflections on most subjects are valuable; and there is also an amiable and winning spirit of optimism running through every thing which he has written. But he is not a profound thinker; notwithstanding all that he has said about his microscope, he does not discriminate accurately; his views are not comprehensive; he has no system. He professes to be a disciple of Locke; and yet it would be difficult to name a single writer in the whole compass of English literature, who in his general manner, or in the qualities of his mind, less resembles that great man. The original doctrines and conjectures which he has hazarded, those for example which respect the corporeity of the mental or-

gan, or which make the rational faculty a secondary property resulting from the composition of spirit with a fine organization, and his dreams about the vehicular state and the mundane soul, are curious only from their extravagance. The chapter entitled 'The Vision' is unquestionably the most remarkable part of the work, evincing at the same time a well stored and highly imaginative mind, and abounding in exquisite touches of nature and humor. It is by this, as his admirers have said, that his reputation as a man of genius must stand or fall.

There is a moral defect in Tucker's writings which we must not pass over in silence. The weak sides and inconveniences of every rule are pointed out and dwelt upon until a sort of skeptical uncertainty is introduced. One is almost forced to acknowledge with Sterne, that, after all, there is not so much difference between good and evil as the world is apt to imagine. As a natural consequence of this, the doctrine is continually insinuated, and sometimes openly maintained, that, however we may speculate in our closets, we are never to feel ourselves called upon to make war on popular errors, or prevalent abuses, or to disturb in any way the existing order of things. For this reason, more, we suspect, than from any sense of his preëminent ability, Tucker always has been, and always will be, a favorite with those, who, without absolutely abandoning their principles, wish to have just so much doubt cast upon them as will relax their strictness. What he has advanced under the head of esotericks and exotericks, or on having one doctrine for the learned, and another for the vulgar, may be consistent, perhaps, with an amiable temper, humane offices, and a philosophical moderation; but not, with sincerity, or a hearty zeal for the truth, or a willingness of self-sacrifice, or a proper respect for or sympathy with the common mind.

Of the literary merits of this work all that we can say is, that the author's sprightliness and good humor, and his happy talent for illustration, are to be set off against his want of method, his diffuseness, and the loose and inharmonious structure of his almost interminable sentences. His plan is to begin by giving an account of human nature as it exists in this world; then to speak of its capacities with respect to a future life; and then of what may be expected either here or hereafter from the government and

providence of God, so far as these are unfolded by the light of nature. Afterwards, he calls in the aid of revelation, investigates its foundation and evidences, explains wherein revelation and nature differ and wherein they agree, and proceeds to consider under their blended lights some of the most interesting questions respecting the divine economy, and human duty, trial, and destiny. Over this wide field we cannot think, of course, to follow him, but must content ourselves with calling attention to a few passages.

The following is Mr. Tucker's explanation of the manner in which the mind acts on the muscles.

'Perhaps there lies a mighty weight of some subtle fluid thrown from our animal circulation, and bearing constantly against the orifices of our nerves, but prevented from entering by certain little sliding valves kindly provided by nature for our use : the mind then has nothing more to do than draw aside the valves, and in rushes the torrent. The mind in this case works like the miller of an overshot mill ; he has shoots lying over every one of his wheels, stopped by flash-boards at their upper ends, against which the water lies bearing, always ready to drive the wheels whenever it can find a passage : so the miller by drawing a little board, which any child might pull up with a finger, turns the stream upon this wheel or that as he pleases, and twirls round a massive stone which he could not stir with both his arms. But as comparisous seldom go on all four, the mill and the human machine differ in one respect ; the miller, when he takes up his flashes, lays them, it may be, on the bank, goes whistling into his mill, and thinks no more till his grist is ground, for the water will work on for ever, unless he shuts it out again : but the valves used by the mind fall back again of themselves when the mind withdraws her activity. Therefore if you would point with your hand at some object for any time, you must continue to exert yourself all the while : for the moment the mind forbears her volition, the valves close, the stream ceases to flow upon the brachial muscles, and the arm, no longer supported, falls to your side. Then again the likeness returns upon disorders in each : for should an eel wriggle under any of the flash-boards, this might give the water a passage without any act of the miller : or should some flood buoy them quite out of their places, and pour down a larger stream than usual, the wheels might turn with more violence than the miller could throw upon them at other times. So some foulness of our juices may work under the valves, keeping them open whether we will or no ; or the boiling of a fever may stretch

them beyond their natural width, and produce convulsions stronger than any thing the mind can effect by her volition.' — Vol. 1. p. 60.

Again he says ;

'Were I permitted to conjecture in a matter wherein nothing better than conjecture can be had, I should suppose spirit naturally penetrable, but capable of rendering itself solid upon occasion with respect to particular bodies, and that hereon our activity depends. I have formerly given my reasons for imagining that the force wherewith we move our limbs is derived from the animal circulation rushing into the muscles through certain nerves, and that the orifices of these nerves are provided with stoppers, which the mind draws up at pleasure to give the animal spirits admittance : now what should hinder our conceiving these stoppers pushed up by little hairs or fibres whose other ends lie within our spiritual part, which by its natural penetrability admits them into the space where itself resides? but, upon the mind rendering herself solid with respect to any particular fibre it is driven forward, thereby lifts up the stopper, and opens the passage into the nerves ; until, volition forbearing to act, the penetrability returns, the fibre, no longer pressed, falls back to its former station, the stopper following closes the passage, and muscular motion ceases. — Vol. 1. pp. 439, 440.

Some of our readers may be reminded by these extracts of what took place in the Vision after the German doctor's luminous exposition of the distinction between mechanism and organism. "I am a little suspicious," says Locke, "that my boy does not fully comprehend you yet." — "No?" cries the venerable, in surprise. "He must be a blockhead, yea a numskull, not to say a beetle, nor yet a blunderbuss, if he does not." For a more favorable, perhaps the most favorable specimen of what our author has done for metaphysics, we would refer to the whole chapter on the 'Existence of Mind.'

Mr. Tucker was a believer in the limited duration of future punishment, and in the chapter on that subject reasons very characteristically on the practical tendency of the doctrine, as held by him and other Restitutionists.

'Let us suppose, then, we could know for certain that the duration of future punishment were precisely one thousand years : what encouragement could this give to the sinner? Is not this length far greater than that of any enjoyment he can

expect to get by sinning ? Let him consider what it is to pass a day, a week, a month, in exquisite tortures, and he will soon find a less time than that we have specified sufficient to discourage him effectually from running the hazard. Suppose a wicked man talked to by the parson of the parish, who terrifies him with the dread of everlasting flames, into the resolution of amendment. You come in afterwards and bid him not mind the parson, for you know better than all of them put together, and can assure him there is no such thing as everlasting flames. "Ay !" says the man, "I am heartily glad of that, for then I may take my pleasure without fear of an after-reckoning." "No, no," you say, "I cannot engage for so much neither ; you must expect to smart, but it will be but for a while, only a thousand years and all will be well again." What comfort could this give him ? Must it not rather damp his spirits, and the naming so vast a length increase his terrors more than the limitation to that term abate them ?

'For both choice and evidence have their certain weight to render them complete : while below this pitch, you may increase them by adding to the weights ; but when once arrived at it, all further addition is superfluous. For in moral arithmetic, as observed before under the article of pleasure, the same rules do not hold good as in the common ; nor does two and two always make four. If I hear an unlikely fact related by somebody I know little of, I shall not heed him much : if another confirms what he said, I may begin to doubt : two or three more agreeing in the same story may make me think it probable ; but if twenty persons of approved honor and veracity asserted it upon their own knowledge, I should give an unreserved assent ; nor could I do more though a hundred of the same character were to come in. So were a man offered a long life of pleasure for a month's future sufferings, perhaps he might be stout enough to accept the condition : were they increased to a year, he might hesitate : but were they multiplied to a thousand years, he could not delay his choice a moment, if he had any consideration at all. Where demonstration will not convince, nor things beyond all comparison determine the choice, it proves an insensibility in the mind which no further outward application can cure. If those who hear not Moses and the Prophets would not believe, though one rose from the dead ; neither would he that is not touched with a thousand years of severest punishment, be moved with an eternity. For it is plain the present wholly engrosses his imagination ; he has no regard for the future : and you may as well make a blind man see by lighting up more candles, or a mortified limb, that

has utterly lost its sensation, feel by laying on more stripes, as affect him by any future sufferings whatsoever. — Vol. 11. pp. 422, 423.

Our author's practice of never contradicting in terms the received orthodoxy of the church has thrown some obscurity over his real sentiments respecting the trinity. Mr. Lindsey in his '*Historical View*,' published, in 1783, goes into this question, and adduces several passages in proof of his strict Unitarianism, though disguised a little at times under the popular phraseology adopted from an excessive desire of accommodation. It is to this that the following extraordinary note in the memoir refers.

'Soon after Mr. Tucker's death, various attempts were made by different sectaries to enlist him under their banners, particularly Mr. Lindsay, who endeavoured to show, by several partial extracts from his works, that he was inclined to the opinions of the Unitarians. A very full refutation of these misrepresentations was soon afterwards published by Thomas Kynaston, Esq. under the signature of "*A Layman*," by which Mr. Tucker's religious character was completely vindicated.'— Vol. i. p. xiv, *note*.

That Mr. Kynaston, whose work we have not seen, was able to vindicate Mr. Tucker's '*religious character*,' and that he was also able to make it appear that he had never openly impugned the doctrine of the trinity, as such; nor deserted the national worship to go over to the Unitarians, is not questioned. But we can hardly imagine it to be seriously held that the opinions advanced in '*The Light of Nature*' are reconcilable, or were believed by their author to be reconcilable, with any form of the trinity, properly so called. The first edition, the only one to which Mr. Lindsey had access, settled this point in our opinion; but if any doubts remained, they must have vanished as soon as the second appeared, in which, for the first time, the suppressed chapter on the Logos, as left by the author, was restored to its place. Mr. Tucker, merely, as it would seem, to save himself from the necessity of rejecting altogether the popular language in speaking of the Deity, adopted a loose form of Sabellianism, and represented God as acting in the moral government of the world under '*three characters*.' He is careful, however, to intimate that he is not responsible for the correctness even of this view of the subject; but pre-

sents it rather as the most plausible and consistent explanation of a doctrine held in the church. He maintains, it is true, in common with all Unitarian Christians, that Jesus partook in a peculiar manner of the divinity; but in explaining himself he does not hesitate to say, as in the following paragraph, that the peculiarity originated not in a difference of kind, but only of degree.

‘From all which may be gathered that the application of the Deity to every sanctified believer was the same in kind with that to Jesus; but immensely inferior in degree, and temporary, with large intervals of disunion between. So that when we act under influence of the Spirit, still our acts have a mixture of imperfection; and in far the greater part of our acts we offend daily, being left to ourselves without any assistance; whereas, Jesus being styled the Holy Child, we must conclude, that holiness accompanied him constantly and uninterruptedly from the cradle to the cross.’ — Vol. iv. pp. 107; 108.

We can give but a single extract from the chapter on the Logos, in which he states what he supposes to have been John’s object in the poem of his Gospel.

‘He is going to give a history of Christ’s ministry upon earth: this he ushers in by a brief account, in the concise apostolic simplicity, of what occasioned his coming; which was, the original constitution of mankind established upon a plan or word, something similar to Pythagoras’ oath of Jove, regulating the courses of all events which were to follow. This word was before God, that is, God held it in contemplation before him, as we hold a paper of directions before us when we would proceed in exact conformity thereto.

‘Then, “The Word was God,” upon which such mighty stress has been laid to prove the divinity of Christ as a distinct Person from the Father, if read, as in the original, “God was the Word,” will appear inserted purposely to prevent the notion of a distinct actor, by declaring that God himself was the Agent proceeding to creation in pursuance of his Word; and we may presume this little sentence was thrown in for the sake of the Gentile converts, who, having been accustomed to the notion of twelve greater Gods, whom one may style the Senate, or supreme Legislature of Heaven, might have fancied St. John only reduced them to two, and by the Logos understood another God, like Minerva, the daughter and first-begotten of Jupiter.’ — Vol. iv. pp. 222, 223.

In the chapter on ‘Redemption,’ he says,

‘This brings me to inquire, in what manner the sufferings

of the Redeemer operated to our benefit : and I apprehend it to have been, not by taking off any service we were destined to perform for the universe, for this would be sacrificing the general interest to the advantage of a few ; nor by working a change in the constitution of human nature, for this would look like something of a charm and magic ; nor yet by turning the purposes of God from resentment into mercy, for this would be to represent him liable to passion and mutability ; but by setting an example which might lead us into the method of performing the hardest of our services with the same tranquillity and satisfaction of mind that he did.' — Vol. III. p. 299.

It is on practical subjects that our author is most at home. We would recommend particularly what he has said on 'Vanity,' on 'Divine Services,' on 'Doing all for the Glory of God,' on 'Education,' and on 'Death.' We have space for but one more extract, which, though taken almost at random, is sufficiently characteristic.

'Very great stress has been laid upon the duty of fasting, which being a medicine in the spiritual dispensary, the qualities and uses of it deserve to be well considered before it be prescribed. Now I conceive it operates as a damper of the spirits, and weakener of that attachment we have to the common enjoyments and engagements of life : therefore ought to be administered to such patients with whom that intention is requisite to be pursued, and in no greater measure than suffices to answer it.

'But there are various degrees of fasting ; the abstinence from all food, or from flesh-meats, for whole days together, was strongly enjoined in former times, perhaps not so much for the sake of religion, as to force men by the inconveniences of it to purchase a dispensation with their money : so that he was the best son of the Church, not who starved himself most, but who gave most largely to be excused from the obligation to starve. Such abstinence might be very advisable for your turtle eaters, city-feast hunters, and persons who live in a continual round of pleasures ; but for old women and others who have frequent occasion to converse with their apothecaries, I hold it stark naught ; for they have more need of something to raise their spirits than to depress them, and their scruples, despondencies, and murmurings proceed in great measure from poorness of blood or stagnation of the circulating juices, occasioned by the feeble tone of their vessels, want of exercise, or of seasonable recreation ; and if they could apply with more glee to their common employments, they might return from them with better alacrity to their devotions.

'For my own part, who am of a rather melancholy temperament and cold digestion, I could never reap any benefit from fasting, though I have tried it formerly, but found it enfeeble my understanding, and make me less fit for religious exercises; and had I continued it till this time, I believe my chapters would have dissolved into a water-gruel style, and been still more deficient than they are in a rational, cheerful strain of piety.'— Vol. IV. pp. 171, 172.

The eight volumes of the English edition are here compressed into four, without the necessity, however, of so far reducing the type, or crowding the page, as materially to injure the appearance. We are happy to learn that the enterprise of the publishers is likely to be rewarded beyond their most sanguine expectations in the rapid and extensive sale of the work. A much more important service is done to the literature of this country by putting into circulation neat, and correct, and cheap editions of the standard authors, than by following at the heels of the English press, and reprinting indiscriminately its trashy novelties.

ART. VI. — *The History of England.* By the Right Hon. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, M. P. [Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia.] 2 vols. 1830, 1831.

THE history of England is, on all accounts, the most interesting and the most important, which can be offered to the attention of Americans. The most interesting, not merely because it is the history of our forefathers, and holds us by that chain of sympathy, which irresistibly attracts us to all that is connected with our progenitors, but because it abounds, more than that of any other country, with events which have had an influence extended far beyond their immediate sphere, through distant regions and succeeding ages; and because it abounds with the developement of characters which deserve and command the admiration, the love, and the gratitude of mankind. England is the only country whose history exhibits the gradual and sure, though irregular, growth of a well organized system of political liberty; and in her history alone is it possible to trace the efforts, the sacrifices,

or the accidental circumstances, which have effectually contributed to the firm establishment of that inestimable right.

Descended, as we are, from those who had already made great progress, we are apt to think that we have gone far beyond not merely our fathers, but our contemporaries in the path of political freedom, and that therefore we can have little to learn, and much to teach. We plume ourselves upon the progress we have made, and in some respects we are, doubtless, in advance of others ; but what foul disgrace would it not have been to us, if we had entirely neglected to improve the peculiar and providential advantages of our situation. There is ample room for humility that we have not done more, and that we are not more practically established in the principles we profess to follow. The path of political freedom is emphatically the path of improvement, and of continual exertion. If our fathers toiled to attain the great object, we also must labor to preserve, to improve, and to transmit it. It is not a task of limited extent, which when once finished we have done for ever. It is an art which may be practised with an undefined degree of skill ; it is a science which may be carried forward far beyond our present attainments ; it is a blessing which, like most of the other blessings of life, is consigned to our care and vigilance for its preservation. We know of no way to obtain just ideas of its nature, or a knowledge of the means by which it may be gained, preserved, or destroyed, but by consulting the records of history, and especially of its own history, as it has appeared in England and in this country. We think, too, that even Americans have something to learn as to the true nature of political liberty, the means of its preservation, and the dangers to which it is exposed. Many among us seem to imagine that national liberty consists exclusively in freedom from foreign control ; in the choice of our own rulers ; and in the power of displacing them when they no longer please us ; — that frequent elections are sufficient to secure it ; and that there is nothing to fear for it, but foreign force, or the growth of domestic aristocracy. They have yet to learn, that some who have chosen their own governors without fear of foreign influence, have only chosen despots ; that frequent elections may be only the source of frequent tumults, or unimportant change of men ; and that the enemies of liberty are as numerous as the uncontrolled passions of poli-

ticians, and the unenlightened prejudices of multitudes. We conceive it to be of the utmost importance to us and to our children, that the true basis of liberty, and the true principles by which it is to be maintained and augmented, should be amply developed, and generally, as well as thoroughly, understood. If we do not know the nature of the foundation, we cannot erect the suitable edifice ; and a single error of principle may lead to numerous and fatal mistakes in practice.

The dangers of liberty have in all past time been considered so great and fearful, that it has been apparently the direct object of many governments to prevent that state of things which it ought to have been their object to promote, namely, the equal enjoyment of individual rights, and the universal protection of property and life. It has been, and is still, in most countries, thought necessary for the good order of society, that its government should be in the hands of a few individuals ; while the great mass of human beings are regarded either as a sort of live stock, the sole end of whose existence is the benefit of the few, or as a species of domestic enemies to be crushed and borne down by the hand of power, and whose well-being is absolutely incompatible with the necessary dignity and splendor of the government. Even England, a few centuries ago, groaned under as heavy a despotism as the rest of the world ; and it is only by comparing her condition under the Norman kings with her present state, or with that of our own country, that we can learn the comparative value of arbitrary and free systems of government. It may not seem necessary to impress us with a sufficient sense of the importance of political freedom, yet it will hardly be useless, occasionally to look back upon what we have escaped ; to form some idea, if we can, of the state of things when the Commons, that name which now conveys such impressions of dignity and power, had no political existence ; when laws were made by the authority of an individual, and enforced by the edge of the sword, and the point of the spear ; when usurpation and violence were the order, and ignorance and poverty the well-being, of society. The wildest anarchy to which the abuse of popular power has ever led, can be reproached with nothing worse than the legitimate effects of uncontrolled despotism ; and the study of the means by which the evils of both may be avoided is

among the most important and interesting which can affect the condition of human society. It is delightful to trace the causes that have lifted up even a corner of the dark veil which hung over the world ; and it is, to the last degree, important to us to distinguish the circumstances which have operated upon character, and the characters that have produced events tending to the combination of 'liberty and order,' which constitutes our birthright, and our pride, and the hope which is common to us and the civilized world.

At this moment, the study is doubly interesting, when a struggle is going on in Europe, upon which we can look at once with the calmness of posterity and the sympathy of contemporaries. Regarding it with the former feeling, we cannot consider its ultimate issue as at all doubtful. Great changes in what by many are considered as circumstances necessary to social order, will, without question, occur ; but our sympathetic fears as to the effect of these changes may be very much moderated, by a consideration of the consequences that have ensued from previous changes of condition in points which have, in like manner, been thought necessary to the well-being of society. It has been regarded, for instance, as very necessary, that the distinction between the different classes of society should be broad and impassable ; that a great gulf should be fixed between the noble and ignoble. But it was reserved for the history of England to show that this barrier may be safely passed ; and that not merely no injury, but that great benefit, will result to the commonwealth from the almost promiscuous union of the two classes, and from the equal extension to all orders of the restraints and the privileges of law. It has been firmly believed, in former ages, that uniformity of religious, as well as political opinions, was necessary to the proper organization of society ; and that this uniformity ought to be enforced by persecution, the union of church and state, and exclusive privileges attached to certain forms of church government or dogmas of theological opinion. The experience of later times has proved that toleration is certainly not dangerous, that persecution is an unmitigated evil, and that difference of religious belief cannot be prevented, and, if indulged, proves harmless ; and our own experience has, at length, demonstrated, that to support religion by temporal power is not merely unnecessary, but is, in fact, reversing the true

order of things ; for temporal power could have little support, were it left unsanctioned by religious principle and motives. Again, it has been, nay, incredible as it may seem, it is, thought dangerous to the welfare of society to extend the advantages of the most common education to what are called the lower orders. The history of England can now show whether or not it is a real cause for alarm ; and with us, where the distinction of high and low is practically, as well as theoretically, unknown, universal education is the sole, but firm and sufficient basis of the whole structure of society. The fear is reversed ;—we are alarmed lest the benefits of education should not be widely and rapidly enough extended.

The truth is, that all these fears for the welfare of society resolve themselves into fears for the actually existing state of things. Those who possess power are naturally reluctant to lose it ; those who have privileges, to part with them ; however society in general may be benefited by their loss. And when we recollect the extreme difficulty with which a change is effected in any thing which has become consolidated by habit, and that almost every political system has really outlived its adaptation to the state of society, we may perhaps be persuaded that a prospect even of great change may not, necessarily, be a prospect of evil, and that the breaking up of some existing establishments may really be, what it professes to be, a reform. The dread of change, too, consists, not merely in the apprehension of alteration for the worse, but in positive attachment to what is fixed,—the love of permanence. There is something very imposing in the idea of long duration, and it has in all ages been an important object with governments to secure, not so much the permanent enjoyment of just rights, as the unchangeable establishment of certain forms and customs. This feeling is a proof of the vastness of human conceptions and desires ; it is a sort of ‘longing after immortality,’ which may show our adaptation to other states of existence, but which, it is certain, cannot be gratified in this. God has stamped mutability upon man and all his works. He has reserved unchangeable duration for himself alone. The only way in which we can hope to secure the permanence of any of our schemes or systems, is by providing some mode in which they may be adapted to the necessities of coming ages. But the fixing of a certain form of government, not only for ourselves but for

for all our successors, is, fortunately, as impossible as it would be unwise. It will last till men have the wish and the power to change it, and no longer; and the only way to prevent convulsions is to present an opportunity for those quiet alterations which will adapt it to new and unforeseen wants of society. The mind of man, as it was not made perfect and unchangeable, was constituted with an unlimited capacity of improvement; it 'strives for enlargement,' and if bounds are attempted to be fixed to it short of the perfection to which it aspires, it will assuredly burst them. In the science of government, as in all other things, we cannot stand still; we must either advance or recede; change is, at all events, perpetual, and the great difficulty in regulating that change is, to read aright the signs of the times, to perceive what the actual condition of men requires, and to adapt ourselves and our wishes to the existing necessity.

If these views are in any degree correct, the outcry against innovations and innovators is no less unjust than it is common. Unhappily the worst forms of government have usually been first established; and, had it not been for the efforts of innovators, they might have been perpetuated to the present day, to the immeasurable detriment of the world. The struggles which have been sometimes necessary, and which perhaps will be so again, are undoubtedly appalling; but is it upon the patriot striving for the improvement of his country, that the blame of those struggles is to be exclusively thrown? Are they to escape reproach who pertinaciously adhere to systems because they are old, or because they find personal advantages in the abuses which are to be remedied? Who is acting most in conformity with the best principles of our nature, he who endeavours to adapt systems to circumstances, or he who is attempting to force men's wishes and wants to conform to previously existing systems? The history of England abounds in innovations, ay, in revolutions for which we especially should be always and profoundly grateful; and it strikes us as not a little singular that the very country where revolutions have been really most numerous, and where more changes have actually been effected in conformity with the dictates of public opinion than in any other in Europe, should be held up, as it is by many, as a model for the permanency and durability of its institutions. The conquest by William the First was a revolution, and a disastrous

one ; for it established the power of the Norman kings, who were most of them usurpers, and all of them despots. Then came the revolution of Runnymede, followed by the innovations of a system of representation of the barons, and the introduction of citizens and burgesses into the government, a revolution vastly more important in its consequences than any reform of their house can possibly be. Then came the deposition of Richard the Second; the violent successive revolutions which constitute the history of the wars of the Roses, and the accession of Henry the Seventh, which, like the empire of Napoleon, was a revolutionary close of a series of political convulsions. Soon after followed the Reformation, which was, at first, an exclusively political change, both in its external and internal effects ; then the counter-revolution of the reign of Mary ; still another change of system under Elizabeth, and important variations of church government under James. Then succeeded the revolutionary efforts of Charles, and the more successful though temporary change of the Commonwealth ; then the restoration, then the expulsion of the Stuarts, and the subsequent changes of dynasty ; and the perpetual, though gradual, alterations which have constantly taken place since, in the relative power of the different orders of society. If all these revolutions are consistent with permanency of institutions, what constitutes their fluctuation ? And if all of them had been dreaded as evils, and effectually resisted, where would have been our dearest privileges and brightest prospects ? In what corner of the earth would political liberty have found refuge ?

In truth, the British constitution is the result of these revolutionary struggles ; and its true glory is, not in its permanency, for had it been permanent, we should still have been exposed to the divine right of Plantagenets and Tudors, to Star-Chamber courts, ship-money, benevolences, and the long train of annulled prerogative ; but in its capacity for change, in the means it has afforded of adapting itself, from time to time, to new states of society, and in the successive impulses it has received from the noble efforts of the glorious patriots whose characters were formed under its own best influences.

It is worthy of remark, too, that all those changes which have proceeded from, or which have augmented, the influence of the lower orders in England, have not only produced

the most desirable ultimate effects, but have been far more mild and beneficent in their immediate consequences, than those which have proceeded from, or have augmented the influence of, the crown. The introduction of the Commons into the government has produced effects which none will now deny to have been the most desirable; but had it been possible for human sagacity to have foreseen them, at the time, or for many generations afterwards, they would have been crushed in the bud, overwhelmed with the outcry of dangerous and daring innovation. The expulsion of the Stuarts was a popular revolution, and it is difficult to imagine one of a more mild and moderate character. Even the triumph of the republican party in the time of the Commonwealth, although a change entirely premature, and brought about by a civil war, was marked by less violence than the proceedings of the other party, and by much less than it can be thought the royalists would have exercised, had they been successful. On the other hand, we may see very fair specimens of the effects of unchecked power, in the grinding extortion of Henry the Seventh, and the capricious, the insane cruelty of his son. So much is sometimes said of the ferocity of an excited mob, that it seems to be forgotten that a despot can be cruel too. And we have, perhaps, been more than reasonably impressed with the fear of popular excesses, from one frightful example on the continent of Europe. It should be recollected that the system of oppression which was then overthrown was also tremendous; and that nothing has contributed so much to save England from a similar 'abomination of desolation,' as the partial changes and meliorations of government which have so frequently taken place in her history. The recurrence of these alterations renders her history doubly instructive. We see the motives of all parties, and the effects, both expected and unexpected, of their actions; and perhaps as much may be learned from the efforts of one side to increase, as from those of the other to diminish, the weight of power.

It requires, however, no little wisdom to derive all the advantage from this study which it is capable of affording; and we are highly gratified to be assisted in our researches by the profound knowledge and uncommon sagacity of Sir James Mackintosh. We have read the two volumes of his history, which have been published by Dr. Lardner, and

which come down to the reign of Elizabeth, with high pleasure, and, we hope, with some improvement. He is full of the philosophical spirit, the penetration, and the enlarged views, which are requisite for every historical writer, and is deeply imbued with that just attachment to rational freedom, which is especially becoming in a British historian. His style is not always so easy and perspicuous as could be wished; yet there are many passages which cannot be surpassed, as well for beauty of language, as for truth, brilliancy, and profoundness of thought. He is the writer, it seems to us, who has best understood the true light in which English history is to be regarded, and has treated it in the most judicious and useful manner. The moral tone too of the work is as pure and elevated as the character of the author. We had intended to make several extracts; but the passages we should wish to quote are too numerous for our limits, and we must content ourselves with recommending the perusal of the whole work to those who feel an interest in the subject, or who wish to learn what it is most desirable to know in the history of their ancestors. We shall look forward with eager expectation for the remainder of the work, which will contain an invaluable treasure of political wisdom, if executed, as it doubtless will be, in the same masterly manner as the beginning.

We wish it could be brought down to the present time; for at the moment in which we are writing, one of those modifications of the English government is taking place, if indeed it be not already completed, which is destined to have a great and durable effect upon its character. Whether it is to be for good or for evil, it may be presumptuous to pronounce; yet, if there be any truth in the remarks we have made, there is great reason to hope that, amidst all the changes which are to ensue, the true principles of just liberty will be predominant. The length and violence of the struggle which is to take place depend entirely on the wisdom of the parties; but there can hardly exist a doubt as to the side to which victory will ultimately incline. It is plain to those who can discern the spirit of the age, that the time has come when some of the gross abuses, which have been tolerated till men begin to claim them as vested rights, can no longer be borne by an intelligent, spirited, and wealthy people. Nothing but the wonderful events of the French

revolution, and the all-engrossing strife of the following years, has prevented the claim of reform from being urged long ago; and now that men's minds are fixed upon the object, there cannot be a doubt that they will attain it. True, they are claiming the exercise of rights they have never enjoyed; but which have, nevertheless, always existed. True, the influence of the crown and the aristocracy has been felt in popular elections from the very first; but it is no less true that this influence is, and always has been, an abuse. And can an abuse be so consecrated by time as to lose its character, and become a right? Can a perversion of an object become in time its legitimate purpose? If the true design of the house of Commons be to express the wants, and to represent the interests, of the class to which they belong, can it ever be just that their interests should be kept out of view and their wishes thwarted by those of other classes? But argument is useless. There is but one man in the kingdom bold enough to avow an opinion that no reform is necessary. Some change, it is conceded by all, must be made. The only question is, whether that change shall be an essential one, or whether the *vested rights* in purchased seats and boroughs shall be in some measure respected; in other words, whether a large portion of those who call themselves the representatives of the Commons shall be what they profess to be, or whether they shall really represent a very different class. It is a question of expediency how far this reform should be carried; and we have no doubt as to the expediency of going the whole length of justice; of taking one great step, for which the people are now prepared, towards that enjoyment of equal political rights, which, in our view, is essentially necessary to a good form of government. What ultimate consequences may follow we do not undertake to predict; but if the measure be executed with the same moderation with which it has been begun, with the same enlightened views, and energetic wisdom, it can but serve to increase the glorious distinction of Great Britain, her freedom, her power, her wealth, and social happiness. It is certainly possible that a civil convulsion may be the first result of this step; though we hope better things of the small minority who are opposed to it; but if it were, we feel that the advancement of political freedom is worth a struggle. Liberty has always repaid its cost with interest. The blood of its mar-

tyrs has always been prolific of good ; their lives have been glorious, and their memories cherished. They who are now associating their names with those of their most illustrious predecessors, instead of deserving the reproach, so frequently thrown upon them, of urging on a revolution, are only endeavouring still farther to develope that quality in the constitution, which forms its distinguishing excellence. Other countries in Europe have had their monarchs, and their aristocracies, and their permanent institutions, but where else has the power of the Commons been felt ? Where else has there been an ascending influence from the lower orders to purify and invigorate the higher ? Where else has the system of the government expanded itself to meet the wants of the age without terrific convulsion ? Where else has the voice of the people ever been heard in remonstrance, petition, or law ; or in any thing but the whirlwind of an ungovernable commotion ? It cannot be too often repeated, that it is the energy of the Commons, partially exhibited as it has been even in her institutions, which has raised Great Britain to her exalted rank among the nations. It is the only thing which distinguishes her history from that of other monarchies, and we cannot persuade ourselves to fear the consequences of its farther developement. We must unlearn all that we have been taught by the history of our mother country, and by our own experience in this fortunate republic, before we can dread either the growth or the firm establishment of the power of an enlightened, educated, wealthy, and prosperous class, even though that class be called the lower order of society. By the elevation of that, all other ranks are proportionally raised.

ART. VII. — *Henry Pestalozzi, and his Plan of Education ; being an Account of his Life and Writings, with copious Extracts from his Works, and extensive Details illustrative of the Practical Parts of his Method.* By E. BIBER, Ph. Dr. London. 1831. pp. 408.

THE author of the work before us is a warm admirer of Pestalozzi and his system of education ; but his judgment is apparently unbiassed by the premature enthusiasm which is

often excited by novel and extensive plans of improvement. He seems to have studied the subject in all its bearings and details with great deliberation, and, from the sincere convictions of his understanding, to have become a zealous convert to its truth and utility. He is himself the author of one or two works, which we understand possess considerable value, in illustration of the Pestalozzian system; and, although in the present volume he sometimes indulges in speculations which we cannot regard as just or useful, we should pronounce him, upon the whole, one of the most candid and enlightened of the disciples of Pestalozzi, with whose writings we are acquainted, and singularly imbued with all that is most excellent and practical in the spirit of his master. We infer from the discrimination and care apparent in this work, that he has given us a trustworthy account of the different subjects which he undertakes to treat, and that he may be confidently relied upon, when he declares, as he does in his Preface, that 'the facts stated in the biographical part are derived from the best sources of information; the author having been called upon when abroad, not only to take cognizance of all those which had received publicity, but also to examine a great number of private documents connected with the history of Pestalozzi.'

We apprehend that the assertion made in the *Edinburgh Review*, soon after the death of Pestalozzi a few years since, is perfectly correct, — that, while his name was as familiar as a household word on the continent of Europe, and his memory held in pious veneration, its sound had been scarcely heard in Great Britain; and although we are not entirely strangers to it in this country, and some of his most important principles have been introduced and successfully applied to the practical business of education among ourselves, we are not aware that any connected account of his life and character has ever been presented to the American public. There is a deep interest in tracing back a system, which, as we believe, is destined to exert a great influence on the future welfare of our species, to its origin. We wish to lay before our readers the successive steps, by which the system that bears the name of Pestalozzi was matured in his own mind; the discouragements and trials, which he was compelled to endure in its establishment; the measure of success it received during his life; and its probable effects on

the future history of mankind. We shall follow the narrative of Dr. Biber, in describing the leading events of Pestalozzi's life, of which we now propose to give a general outline.

Henry Pestalozzi was descended from an ancient Italian family, who sought refuge in Switzerland from the persecutions which attended the commencement of the Reformation in their native country. He was born at Zurich on the 12th of January, 1745. By the death of his father, who was a physician of some eminence, he was left an orphan at an early age, with very limited means for his future support. His mother, however, was assisted by the more prosperous branches of the family, to give him many of the advantages for entering upon a successful career, which, in the small aristocracies of Switzerland, depend almost entirely upon family connexions. The exertions of an old female domestic, whose highest ambition was to preserve the respectability of the widow's household under its reverses of fortune, are said to have had a great influence on young Pestalozzi, in cherishing honorable sentiments, and a desire for excellence, in his heart; while they made such a lasting impression upon his mind, that in after life, he maintained the deepest regard for the neglected classes of society, and never ceased to vindicate their moral and intellectual rights, as a debt of gratitude to one, from whom, though placed by the caprice of fortune below his own rank in life, he had derived the most important benefits.

His childhood was passed in obscurity, and gave few indications of the genius which was destined afterwards to such signal achievements. His disposition, though concealing feelings of intense energy, was usually marked with an almost feminine gentleness; which, united to a singular want of judgment, that never entirely left him, procured for him, among his schoolfellows, the nickname of Harry Oddity. At the same time that he was the innocent object of their boyish raillery, and seldom joined in their games and sports, he was so frank, kind-hearted, and obliging, that he enjoyed the general affection of his companions, and was always ready to return it, by taking upon himself the burdens which they were unwilling to bear. An instance of this is given, at the time of the tremendous earthquake of 1755, the shock of which was felt in many places in Switzerland.

The school-house where he was taught was so shaken, that, as he himself relates, the teachers ran down stairs almost over the heads of the boys; after the first alarm had subsided, and all wished to recover the hats, books, and other articles which they had left behind, no one but Harry Oddity could be induced to undertake the perilous enterprise.

After completing the usual course of education, Pestalozzi continued his studies, with a view to engaging in the ministry of the Gospel, to which the wishes of his friends, as well as his own deep religious feelings, had early destined him. This course, however, was soon abandoned. He appeared for the first and only time in the pulpit as a candidate; and then, discouraged by the ill-success of the experiment, renounced all aspirations to the sacred office. Soon after, he applied himself to the law, but with a strong predilection for political studies. At this time, his inquiries seem to have taken the direction which ultimately led him to the discoveries that characterize his name. He saw clearly the great abuses in society, which prevailed in his native country; and, by dwelling on their enormity, his active mind suggested means of relief, which could be realized only by a more thorough and judicious education of the people at large. His first publication, issued while a student at law, contained his views on this subject. It was an essay on the bearing which education ought to have upon our respective callings.

It was not for a mind like Pestalozzi's to behold the evils which had been brought to his notice, without deep and painful emotion. This was experienced to such a degree, that he was thrown into a state of morbid excitement; and, at length, a dangerous illness broke off his ardent researches. Still his mind was not quieted. His thoughts could not be prevented from dwelling on the painful subjects to which he had given his whole soul. Prostrate on the bed of sickness, he continued to indulge himself in dark musings; and his fancy represented the prospects of the future, both for society and for himself, in gloomy colors. The strength of his constitution, however, carried him through the disorder; and from the moment of his recovery, he resolved to watch the leadings of Providence, and, setting aside all human considerations, to act up to the full extent of his conceptions, and, if possible, to put his views to the test of life.

He now abandoned all his former studies, committed his papers to the flames, and, believing that the evils into which society was plunged, were mainly owing to a departure from the straight and simple path of nature, to the school of nature he resolved to go. Accordingly he quitted Zurich and went to Kirchberg, in the canton of Berne, where he became an apprentice to a farmer of the name of Tschiffeli. This person had great reputation at that time, for his superior husbandry, and for the warm interest he took in the improvement of the agricultural classes. Here a new scene was opened to Pestalozzi. The lecture-room was exchanged for the stable, and the sedentary occupations of the study for constant exercise in the open air. After qualifying himself, under the direction of Tschiffeli, for the charge of a farm, he purchased a tract of waste land, in the neighbourhood of Lensburg, in the canton of Berne, on which he erected a dwelling-house, with suitable buildings, and gave it the name of Neuhof. The work of his hands here was prospered. He soon brought himself into comfortable circumstances, and saw his prospects as bright and happy as could be wished. At this time, he formed a connexion in marriage with Ann Schulthess, the daughter of one of the wealthiest merchants in Zurich, a young lady of a refined education, and great dignity of character. This marriage, while it increased the happiness of his domestic circle, offered him a new sphere of useful exertion, by giving him an interest in a flourishing cotton-manufactory. He took an active part in the management of it, with a view to become acquainted with this branch of national industry, as well as to compare the influence of manufacturing pursuits with that of agriculture on the minds and morals of the people. The result of his experience was, that the system of popular education, which then prevailed, was by no means adapted to fit the subjects of it for the discharge of their future duties or the attainment of a happy existence. But instead of giving way to despondency, as formerly, in the struggle of conflicting theories, he was now aroused to fresh zeal and more active exertions in a cause, for which no sacrifices seemed to him to be too great. After eight years of successful industry at Neuhof, Pestalozzi resolved to make a fair trial of the plan, which he had long had at heart, of giving the lower orders such an education, as

should raise them to a condition more consistent with the capacities of their nature and with the spirit of Christianity. To avoid the interference of others as much as possible, and to place the beneficial results of his system in a clearer light, he selected the objects of his experiment from the very dregs of the people. If he found a child who was left in destitute circumstances from the death of its parents, or from their incompetency and vice, he immediately took him home ; so that, in a short time, his house was converted into an asylum, in which fifty orphan or pauper children were fed, clothed, and instructed. His great object in this undertaking was, not so much to relieve them from the actual presence of want, as to give them judicious mental and moral cultivation, imbue them with a spirit of improvement and self-direction, and form them to those habits of industry and order, without which, he was persuaded, all external assistance was worthless. The children were instructed in the different employments from which they might afterwards be able to gain a livelihood, and for the exercise of which, his farm and the cotton-manufactory, in which he was a partner, afforded an ample opportunity. This, however, he did not, by any means, deem sufficient. He did not permit himself to be deceived by the idea, which has often been cherished, that the possession of mechanical skill alone would insure a favorable condition in life ; or that any external advantages would compensate for the want of intellectual and moral superiority. He aimed, accordingly, to purify the affections which he saw converted into sinful passions ; to substitute intelligence for low and ignorant cunning ; and to give the principle of faith its original influence upon the heart, by receiving the child, not only as a child of man, but also as a child of God, designed to be restored to the image of divine perfection.

But this experiment, so happily conceived by Pestalozzi, was destined to prove unsuccessful. He possessed few of the means necessary to bring it to a prosperous issue. His zeal, which led him to undertake the most magnificent enterprises, was not combined with sufficient patience, practical knowledge of human nature, and fixed habits of order and economy, to enable him to realize the plans which he proposed ; and, at length, he was obliged to abandon his experiment in despair. It was not, however,

altogether useless. He had the satisfaction of knowing that he had rescued more than an hundred children from the degrading influences under which they were born, and planted the seeds of virtue and religion in their hearts; and, in addition to this, his qualifications for the task to which his life was now devoted, were greatly increased by the insight he had acquired into its real nature, and the means of its accomplishment.

The results of his experience at Neuhof, from the time of opening his asylum in 1775, to its close in 1790, are left on record in the valuable works which he published during that interval. The first of these, entitled '*Leonard and Gertrude*,' is a popular novel, under which form he chose to convey his ideas respecting the condition of the lower classes, and the means of their improvement. The success of this work was not what he expected. Though universally popular as a novel, there were few who entered into the spirit of the deep wisdom which it contained. This was published in 1781, and, in order to draw the attention of its readers to the great object which he had in view, he published another work in the following year, entitled '*Christopher and Eliza*.' But this also failed of the purpose for which it was principally intended. Still Pestalozzi was not discouraged in his attempts to make the public acquainted with his new ideas. He now addressed himself to the literary world, as he had before written expressly for the common people. In a journal published at Basle, under the direction of Iselin, a distinguished philanthropist, he inserted a series of essays, entitled '*Evening Hours of a Hermit*,' which contained a more systematic account of his mode of instruction and his plans for national improvement. But the current of public thought was in an opposite direction, and little attention could be gained to the plans which he labored to introduce. His success was somewhat better in a weekly publication, which he undertook at the beginning of 1782, under the title of the '*Swiss Journal*.' This was continued for one year, and forms two octavo volumes, in which a great variety of subjects is discussed, connected with his favorite purpose of national improvement.

Soon after the breaking up of his establishment at Neuhof, the country began to be agitated with the excesses of the French Revolution; and Pestalozzi, disappointed in the san-

guine hopes which he had formed at the commencement of that event, and disgusted with the scenes of brutality and lawlessness, which it had occasioned, wrote his 'Inquiry into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Species.' This work, published in 1797, marks a new epoch in the development of his views. It was written at a moment when his mind was covered with the deepest gloom, and he was almost ready to sink under the struggle between the bright conceptions of improvement which he had formed, and the darkness which hung over the existing institutions of society. The following questions, which he proposes to himself at the commencement of the work, will give some idea of its plan, and of the spirit in which it was composed.

'What am I? What is the human species?

'What have I done? What is the human species doing?

'I want to know what the course of my life, such as it has been, has made of me? and I want to know what the course of life, such as it has been, has made of the human species?

'I want to know on what ground my volition and my opinions rest, and must rest, under the circumstances in which I am placed?

'I want to know on what ground the volition of the human species and its opinions rest, and must rest, under the circumstances in which it is placed?' p. 149.

The following portrait of himself, which he draws at the close of the volume, is highly characteristic of his feelings at this time.

'Thousands pass away, as nature gave them birth, in the corruption of sensual gratification, and they seek no more.'

'Tens of thousands are overwhelmed by the burdens of craft and trade; by the weight of the hammer, the ell, or the crane, and they seek no more.

'But I know a man, who did seek more; the joy of simplicity dwelt in his heart, and he had faith in mankind such as few men have; his soul was made for friendship; love was his element, and fidelity his strongest tie.

'But he was not made by this world nor for it; and wherever he was placed in it, he was found unfit.

'And the world that found him thus, asked not whether it was his fault or the fault of another; but it bruised him with an iron hammer, as the bricklayers break an old brick to fill up crevices.

‘ But though bruised, he yet trusted in mankind more than in himself; and he proposed to himself a great purpose, which to attain, he suffered agonies, and learned lessons such as few mortals had learnt before.

‘ He could not, nor would he, become generally useful; but for his purpose he was more useful than most men are for theirs; and he expected justice at the hands of mankind, whom he still loved with an innocent love. But he found none. Those that erected themselves into his judges, without further examination confirmed the former sentence, that he was generally and absolutely useless.

‘ This was the grain of sand which decided the doubtful balance of his wretched destinies.

‘ He is no more; thou mayst know him no more; all that remains of him is the decayed remnants of his destroyed existence.

‘ He fell as a fruit that falls before it is ripe, whose blossom has been nipped by the northern gale, or whose core is eaten out by the gnawing worm.

‘ Stranger that passest by; refuse not a tear of sympathy; even in falling, this fruit turned itself towards the trunk, on the branches of which it lingered through the summer, and it whispered to the tree; “ Verily, even in my death will I nourish thy roots.”

‘ Stranger that passest by, spare the perishing fruit, and allow the dust of its corruption to nourish the roots of the tree, on whose branches it lived, sickened, and died.” — pp. 157, 158.

But a brighter day for Pestalozzi was about to dawn. He now became sensible of the great error of his former plans, which made too much account of external circumstances, without exerting sufficient influence on the inward nature, which it was his object to elevate. His mind gradually arrived at the important truth, which is the key-stone of the system he afterwards matured, ‘ that the amelioration of outward circumstances will be the effect, but can never be the means, of mental and moral improvement.’

He had now succeeded in awakening the attention of the Swiss government to the importance of his plans for national education, and was invited to take charge of an asylum for orphans and other destitute children, which should be formed under his own direction and supported at the public expense. The place selected for this experiment was Stantz, the capital of the canton of Underwalden, which had been recently burned and depopulated by the French revolution-

ary troops. A new Ursuline convent, which was then building, was assigned to Pestalozzi, as the scene of his future operations. On his arrival there, he found only one apartment finished, a room about twenty-four feet square, and that unfurnished. The rest of the building was occupied by the carpenters and masons; and even had there been rooms, the want of beds and kitchen furniture would have made them useless. In the mean time, it having been announced that an asylum was to be opened, crowds of children came forward, some of them orphans and others without protection or shelter, whom it was impossible, under such circumstances, to send away. The one room was devoted to all manner of purposes. In the day it served as a school-room, and at night, furnished with some scanty bedding, was occupied by Pestalozzi, with as many of the scholars as it would hold. The remainder were quartered out for the night in some of the neighbouring houses, and came to the asylum only in the day. Of course, under such circumstances, every thing like order or regularity was out of the question. Even personal cleanliness was impossible; and this, added to the dust occasioned by the workmen, the dampness of the new walls, and the closeness of the atmosphere in a small and crowded apartment, made the asylum an unhealthy abode.

The character of the children, too, was a great obstacle to Pestalozzi's success. Many of them were the offspring of beggars and outlaws, and had long been inured to wretchedness and vice; others had seen better days, and, oppressed by disappointment and suffering, had lost all disposition to exert themselves; while a few, who were from the higher classes of society, had been spoiled by indulgence and luxury, and were now conceited, petulant, and full of scornful airs towards their companions.

The whole charge of the establishment thus composed, devolved upon Pestalozzi. From motives of economy and from the difficulty of procuring suitable assistants, he employed no one but a house-keeper. The burden of this task was increased by the caprice and folly of many of the parents, whose children had been sent to the asylum. They were prejudiced against him as a Protestant and an agent of the Helvetic government, and spared no complaints which their unreasonableness or ignorance could suggest.

Mothers who were in the daily practice of begging from door to door, would come on some silly pretext, and take away their children, because they would be no worse off at home. On Sundays especially the whole family circle, from parents to the remotest cousin, would assemble in a body at the asylum, and, after filling the minds of the children with their idle whims, would either take them home, or leave them peevish and unhappy. Sometimes children were brought to the asylum merely to obtain clothing, which being done they were soon removed and no reasons given. In many instances, parents required payment for leaving their children, to compensate for the loss occasioned by taking them off from their begging. In others, they desired to make an agreement for a certain number of days in the week, in which they could have permission to send them out to beg; and this being refused, they indignantly declared, that they would remove them forthwith, — a threat which was not unfrequently executed.

Such was the character of the materials on which Pestalozzi was obliged to commence his great experiments. Discouraging, however, as they appear at first sight, we have reason to believe, that they contributed, in no small degree, to the final success of his plans. He was deprived of the ordinary means of instruction and authority, and thus thrown entirely upon his own resources; the inventive genius, for which he was afterwards distinguished, was awakened within him, and the spirit of humanity received fresh excitement. One of the first benefits which he derived from his apparently untoward circumstances, was the necessity of resorting to the power of love in the child's heart as the only source of obedience. There was nothing in the disposition of either the parents or the children, to aid him in his efforts; on the contrary, a spirit of contempt on the one side and of open hostility on the other, placed those obstacles in his way, which a less original and energetic mind than his would not have been able to surmount. The usual methods of punishment could not be applied with any success. Accordingly, he discarded them all. He made no attempt to frighten his refractory troop into order and obedience, but used only the instrument of an all-forbearing kindness. Even when obliged to apply coercive measures, he employed them with such a spirit, as showed the

children, that he did not have recourse to them through anger, but that their use occasioned no less distress to him than to themselves.

His mode of instruction partook of the character of his discipline. Both were marked with the simplicity of nature. He had none of the ordinary apparatus of teaching, not even books. Himself and his pupils were all. The result was, that he abandoned the common, artificial systems of instruction, and gave his whole attention to the original elements of knowledge, which exist in every mind. 'He taught numbers instead of ciphers, living sounds, instead of dead characters, deeds of faith and love instead of abstruse creeds, substances instead of shadows, realities instead of signs. He led the intellect of his children to the discovery of truths, which, in the nature of things, they could never forget, instead of burdening their memory with the recollection of words, which, likewise, in the nature of things, they could never understand. Instead of building up a dead mind and a dead heart, on the ground of the dead letter, he drew forth life to the mind and life to the heart, from the fountain of life within; and thus established a new art of education, in which to follow him requires, on the part of the teacher, not a change of system, but a change of state.' 'In the midst of his children, he forgot that there was any world besides his asylum. And as their circle was a universe to him, so was he to them all in all. From morning till night he was the centre of their existence. To him they owed every comfort and every enjoyment; and, whatever hardships they had to endure, he was their fellow-sufferer. He partook of their meals, and slept among them. In the evening he prayed with them, before they went to bed; and from his conversation they dropped into the arms of slumber. At the first dawn of day, it was his voice that called them to the light of the rising sun, and to the praise of their heavenly Father. All day he stood amongst them, teaching the ignorant, and assisting the helpless; encouraging the weak, and admonishing the transgressor. His hand was daily with them, joined in theirs; his eye, beaming with benevolence, rested on theirs. He wept when they wept, and rejoiced when they rejoiced. He was to them a father, and they were to him as children.'

The views of Pestalozzi were enlarged and matured by the experience which he thus acquired. He verified the effects of sincere love in subduing the most rebellious, and reducing his almost savage pupils to regular discipline and habitual order. Seventy or eighty children, whose dispositions were of the most unpromising character, were converted, in a short time, into a peaceful and happy family circle. Their tempers were meliorated, their manners softened, their health improved, and their whole appearance so changed, that it was almost impossible to recognise them as the same persons, whose haggard and stupid faces had formerly been noticed by every visiter at the asylum. These good effects, however, were not produced at once. At first, he made his pupils feel the advantage of order and obedience; and then led them on, step by step, to adopting it in their own conduct. Nothing was imposed as a task; nothing was bound down by fixed rules; no slavish submission was required. He taught the reasons of his plans as he went along. 'If some disorder arose from inattention to little things, he he would say to them, "You see now how all this great disorder has come upon us by a trifling neglect. Does not this show that in so large a household every little matter should be carefully attended to?"' At other times, if it became necessary to correct a child for some bad habit, he would say to him; "It is not on your account only, that I must desire you to leave off this practice, but on account of the other boys also, who might learn it from you, and so might acquire a habit, which it would be very difficult for them to conquer. And do you not think, that you yourself would not get rid of it so easily as you now may, if you saw others doing the same thing, so that you would be constantly tempted by their example?"'

He wished to give to his establishment the character of a family, rather than of a public school. He often related to his pupils naratives of a happy and well-regulated household; and endeavoured to awaken their hearts to a sense of the blessings which men may bestow upon each other by the exercise of Christian love. He taught this, whenever he could, by examples taken from real life. Thus when Altorf, the capital of the canton of Uri, was laid in ashes, having informed them of the event, he suggested the idea of receiving some of the sufferers into the asylum. 'Hundreds

of children,' said he, 'are at this moment wandering about, as you were last year, without a home, perhaps without food or clothing. What should you say of applying to the government, which has so kindly provided for you, for leave to receive about twenty of these poor children among you?' 'Oh, yes!' exclaimed his pupils, 'yes, dear Mr. Pestalozzi, do apply, if you please.' 'Nay, my children,' replied he, 'consider it well first. You must know I cannot get as much money as I please for our housekeeping; and if you invite twenty children among us, I shall, very likely, not get any more for that. You must, therefore, make up your minds to share your bedding and clothing with them, and to eat less and work more than before; and if you think you cannot do that readily and cheerfully, you had better not invite them.' 'Never mind,' said the children; 'though we should be not so well off ourselves, we should be very glad to have these poor children among us.'

But the prosperity which Pestalozzi here enjoyed, proved to be of short duration. Before the expiration of a year from the commencement of his undertaking, Stantz was taken by the Austrians, and he was obliged to abandon his experiment at the very moment of its greatest success. This took place in the summer of 1799. He was now exposed to the ridicule of many, who had always derided his plan as visionary and enthusiastic; and to whom he was prevented, by this untimely removal, from giving the evidence of facts in demonstration of its excellence. His disappointment and sufferings on this account were severe. Depressed and unhappy, he retired into the solitude of the Alps, and amidst the rocks and steepes of the Gurnigal, sought rest for his weary soul, and health for his exhausted nerves. But he could not long remain inactive. The enjoyment of the majestic scenes of nature among which he was placed, and the kindness and sympathy of a friend named Zehender, soon restored him to a cheerful state of mind; and he descended from the mountains, determined to resume his experiment, from the point where it had been cut short at Stantz. The Helvetic government at this time made him a grant of about £30 a year, which, in 1801, was raised to £100, but was stopped entirely in 1803 by the dissolution of the government. This was barely sufficient for his own subsistence, and the small remains of his private fortune were absorbed in the maintenance of his family.

In the autumn of 1799, by the advice of his friends, Pestalozzi removed to Burgdorf, an ancient Swiss city, in the canton of Berne, where, after several unsatisfactory attempts, on a small scale, to carry his plans into execution, he at last succeeded before the end of the year in opening an establishment, which, in 1800 numbered twenty-six pupils, and, in 1801, thirty-seven. About one third of these were sons of representatives of different cantons in Switzerland, a part belonged to wealthy tradesmen and agriculturists, and the rest were children of respectable families reduced in their circumstances, who were placed by their friends under the care of Pestalozzi. The expenses of this undertaking were defrayed, at first, by a loan, which he was afterwards enabled, with great difficulty, to repay. But it would have been impossible to continue the institution, had not the Helvetic government voted him, in addition to the grant before mentioned, an annual supply of fuel, and a salary of £25 each, to two of his assistants, Kruesi and Buss, who, however, generously declined receiving it themselves, but devoted it to the general funds of the institution, from which they received nothing but their board and lodging.

At this time, Pestalozzi published a work at the request of his friend Gessner, at Zurich, under the title of 'How Gertrude teaches her Little Ones,' in which he gave an historical account of his experiments up to that period, and a general outline of his principles of education. This book made a very favorable impression upon the public; it excited a greater attention to his plans; confirmed the hopes of his friends; and convinced many of the soundness of his ideas, who had heretofore regarded them as wild speculations. The current of popularity now set so strong in his favor that he was chosen in 1802 as one of the deputies to Paris, pursuant to a proclamation of the French consul, to frame a new constitution for Switzerland. He now made his appearance again as a political writer, and presented his views on the state of the country, and the means of improving it, in a pamphlet, entitled 'View of the Objects to which the Legislature of Switzerland has chiefly to direct its Attention.' The moderate and liberal opinions expressed in this publication, and the wisdom of the proposals which it suggested, conciliated the best men of all parties, and offended none but the few who cherished an extravagant and bigoted attachment to the ancient order of things.

In the mean time, the fame of his establishment had spread itself throughout Switzerland, and attracted the attention, among others, of several young men, who came to Burgdorf, some with the intention of becoming more thoroughly acquainted with the system, that they might turn it to account in their own purposes, and some to aid Pestalozzi in the accomplishment of his plans. Among the latter, was a young clergyman, named John Niederer, who had long venerated the character of Pestalozzi, as the author of 'Leonard and Gertrude'; and who, after a personal acquaintance with him of about a year, became so much interested in his views, that he gave up his living, and a small boarding-school which he had formed in his house, and devoted himself entirely to the promotion of Pestalozzi's designs. The assistance of this person was of the greatest service to Pestalozzi.

'Niederer possessed qualities which rendered him eminently fit for participating in so important a work. His mind, early accustomed to soar above the systems and creeds of men, had penetrated through the clouds of learning, and through the veil of the letter, to the brightness of true wisdom, to an apprehension of the substance. He was distinguished by universality, clearness, and precision of ideas, and by an uncommon power of abstraction. Facts had no value, in his estimation, but so far as they led to principles; and he distinguished, with eagle eye, the hollow metaphysics of the sophist, from the plain, though emblematic, language of truth. The assistance of such a man was essentially necessary to Pestalozzi, whose genius was, like the dark summer-cloud, pregnant with light, but incapable of emitting it except in sudden flashes, separated by intervals of deep obscurity. With all the anxiety of one who carries an unborn universe within his bosom, Pestalozzi was never able, often as he attempted it, to explain himself fully and clearly to others, or even to himself. His language, especially on abstract subjects, resembled the wavering glimmer of a lamp through the gloom of the forest, which, while it presents to the eye a few objects in a transient light, harasses the imagination by a thousand changeable shapes and shades, moving to and fro through the nightly mist. Niederer, on the contrary, who was not endowed with that creative genius which would call a world of new ideas into existence, possessed, in an eminent degree, steadiness of vision, depth of thought, acuteness of judgment, and perspicuity of expression. Pestalozzi discerned and appreciated in him these gifts; he saw at once that Niederer was the man, who, like a miner, would

place his own ideas and feelings before his consciousness, and enable him to pursue his course securely and successfully.' — p. 51.

With the aid of Niederer and the other instructors, the institution at Burgdorf was soon brought into a better state of organization, and the complaints occasioned by Pestalozzi's desultory manner of teaching gradually ceased. Regular courses of instruction were drawn up by the different teachers in their respective departments; and, after having been put to the test of two years' experience, and jointly revised by Pestalozzi and his assistants, were published in 1803, with the title of '*Pestalozzi's Elementary Books*,' in six parts. The success of these books was not so great as Pestalozzi had anticipated. A great portion of the public was not prepared for them, and could not enter into their spirit; while the few, who fully understood the system of Pestalozzi, did not need them, and, in fact, were able to arrange better manuals for their own use.

Soon after this publication, it became necessary from pecuniary considerations to make some change in the establishment at Burgdorf. The result was the removal of Pestalozzi from that place. After an unsuccessful attempt to accomplish a plan suggested by the celebrated Fellenberg of Hofwyl, for an institution under their united care, Pestalozzi finally took up his abode at the castle of Yverdun, a residence that was offered him by the Canton de Vaud, and which he preferred to some others, on account of its beautiful situation on the south end of the lake Neufschâtel.

'Never, perhaps, has the idea of domestic life, in the highest sense of the word, been more beautifully realized, never the effect of a Christian family spirit more powerfully illustrated, than it was in the flourishing times of the establishment at Yverdun; in which persons of all ages, of all ranks, of all nations, persons of the most different gifts and abilities, and of the most opposite characters, were united together by that unaffected love which Pestalozzi, in years a man verging to the grave, but in heart and mind a genuine child, seemed to breathe out continually, and to impart to all that came within his circle. His children forgot that they had any other home, his teachers, that there was any world beside the institution. Even the eldest members of this great family, men who had attained all the maturity of manhood, venerated Pestalozzi with all the reverence of true filial affection, and

cherished towards each other, and towards the younger teachers and the pupils, a genuine brotherly feeling, such as has, perhaps, never existed on earth since the days of the pristine Christian church. There was no man that claimed any privilege for himself, none that sought any thing apart from the others. All the goods of the earth, and all the gifts of immortality, by whomsoever they might be possessed, were enjoyed in common by all ; every individual, with all that he had, and all that he could command, devoted himself to the happiness and the improvement of all. There were not times and places set apart for duty, and times and places left without duty ; in every place, and at every moment, there was a claim of duty upon the conscience of every individual ; but the discharge of that duty was not a toilsome drudgery, it was a true delight.

‘Teachers and children were entirely amalgamated ; they not only slept in the same rooms, and shared together all the enjoyments and labors of the day, but they were on a footing of perfect ease and familiarity. There was no pedantic superiority, no foppery of condescension, on the part of the teacher ; nor was there in the pupils the slavish humility of fear, or the arrogant presumption of an equality, which does not exist in the nature of things. The same man that read a lecture on history one hour, would, perhaps, in the next, sit on the same form with his pupils in a lesson of arithmetic or geometry ; nay, he would, without compromising his dignity, request their assistance, and receive their hints. Such facts were of daily occurrence in a house in which every one was a teacher of what he knew, and every one, even the head himself, a learner of what he knew not. The children saw in Pestalozzi, their father ; in the teachers of the house, their elder brethren ; and they needed no rules to keep them in subjection, where a constant exercise of kindness imposed upon them the restraint of duty and hourly obligation.

‘To awaken that feeling, to kindle that spirit in the children, required, indeed, on the part of the teachers, a greater self-denial than most heads of establishments would find it possible to impose upon their assistants. But Pestalozzi’s example operated like a spell ; and his teachers submitted in his house to arrangements, which the same men, perhaps, would nowhere else have been able to produce. They had the immediate inspection of the different apartments, nay, of the beds and clothes, as well as of the books of the children. In the morning, every teacher assisted those that were especially committed to his care, as far as their age might require it, in washing and dressing themselves ; which, being done, he conducted them to

the great hall, where the whole family were assembled for morning service. During the day he lost sight of them only while they were engaged in lessons with other teachers ; but at meals, and in the hours of recreation, he joined them again ; he participated in their plays, accompanied them in their walks, and, at the close of the day, followed them again to evening prayers, and thence to bed. Yet in all this, there was, on the part of the pupils, perfect freedom ; they were not forced to be with their teacher ; but their teacher was always ready to be with them ; and, as his presence imposed upon them no artificial restraint, they delighted in his company. They found his assistance useful in satisfying their wants, his conversation entertaining in moments of leisure, his advice encouraging in the pursuit of their labors ; their games became more interesting by his participation, their walks more instructive by the information they derived from him on a variety of subjects ; their conscience was strengthened by the glance of his eye, their prayer sanctified by the fellowship of his love.' — pp. 57, — 59.

It was necessary for the successful execution of Pestalozzi's purposes, that the teachers should be men of kindred spirit with himself. To awaken in their minds a sense of their high responsibility, and to animate their zeal from the holiest motives, he endeavoured to make their teaching of others, a source of instruction, and the government of others, a means of moral improvement, to themselves. On two evenings in the week he met all the teachers who were not engaged with the pupils, and entered into a familiar discussion with them, of the general means of instruction and discipline, and of the individual state of each pupil. At these meetings every teacher was called upon in turn, to give an account of the manner in which he proceeded in his lessons, and of the children who were placed under his care. He was encouraged to state freely his difficulties, and to offer any suggestions which occurred to him ; and from Pestalozzi and his brother teachers he had nothing to expect but cordial assent where he was in the right, and kind advice and gentle reproof where he was in the wrong. The remarks of each, and the resolutions to which they led, were put down in a book, which served both as a useful reference, and a valuable aid to future improvement.

In all his labors Pestalozzi had a most efficient assistant in his wife, who interested herself especially in cultivating the

affections of the younger pupils ; while the different branches of domestic economy fell upon his daughter-in-law and an old housekeeper, who had been in his family for more than thirty years, and lived in it rather as a friend than a servant.

‘The domestic arrangements had for their object to form habits of order, and to ensure the enjoyment of good health to the children. In the morning, half an hour before six, the signal was given for getting up. Six o’clock found the pupils ready for their first lesson, after which, they were assembled for morning prayer. Between this and breakfast, the children had time left them for preparing themselves for the day ; and at eight o’clock they were again called to their lessons, which continued, with the interruption of from five to seven minutes’ recreation between every two hours, till twelve o’clock. Half an hour later, dinner was served up ; and afterwards the children were allowed to take moderate exercise till half past two, when the afternoon lessons began, and were continued till half-past four. From half-past four till five, there was another interval of recreation, during which the children had fruit and bread distributed to them. At five, the lessons were resumed till the time of supper at eight o’clock, after which, the evening prayer having been held, they were conducted to bed about nine. The hours of recreation were mostly spent in innocent games on a fine common, situated between the castle and the lake, and crossed in different directions by beautiful avenues of chestnut and poplar trees. On Wednesday and Sunday afternoons, if the weather permitted it, excursions of several miles were made through the beautiful scenery of the surrounding country. In summer, the children went frequently to bathe in the lake, the borders of which offered, in winter, fine opportunities for skating. In bad weather they resorted to gymnastic exercises in a large hall expressly fitted up for that purpose. This constant attention to regular bodily exercise, together with the excellent climate of Yverdun, and the simplicity of their mode of living, proved so effectual in preserving the health of the children, that illness of any kind made its appearance but very rarely, notwithstanding that the number of pupils amounted at one time to upwards of a hundred and eighty. Such was the care bestowed upon physical education in Pestalozzi’s establishment ; and an equal degree of solicitude was evinced for the intellectual and moral well-being of the children.’ — pp. 62, 63.

Successful, however, as the purposes of Pestalozzi were at Yverdun, — the scene which is most intimately associated

with his name, and which was the theatre of his brightest and most useful achievements, — he was destined again to meet with bitter disappointments, and, finally, to go down to his grave in sorrow. After a series of embarrassments, occasioned principally by the artifices of an unprincipled and intriguing adventurer among his teachers, the details of which we will not dwell upon, — having suffered in his property, his happiness, and, to a certain degree, in his character, and witnessed the gradual destruction of his establishment, he died at Brugg, in the canton of Basle, on the 17th of February, 1827, at the advanced age of eighty-two years. The following description, by his biographer, will give our readers an idea of his person and manners.

‘Pestalozzi was naturally endowed with extraordinary powers of body and mind. By the moral struggles which he sustained, his health was occasionally impaired; but his iron constitution could not be undermined by transient fits of nervousness, which had their origin more in the too free indulgence of his strong and acute feelings, than in any defect of his physical organization. His stature was short, and by a tendency of the head to sink in between the shoulders, his deportment, even in his younger years, uncomely. His eye, beaming with benevolence and honest confidence, soon dispelled any unpleasant impressions which the ruggedness of his appearance was calculated to produce; while his wrinkled countenance, which attested in every feature the existence of a soul, to which life had been more than a thoughtless game, commanded, with irresistible power, that reverence which his figure could never have inspired. His entire neglect of his person and dress increased the natural disadvantages of his exterior; and a characteristic anecdote which has been preserved, shows how much of what is commonly noticed among mankind, the divine credential on his brow caused his admirers to forget. Mrs. Pestalozzi was in company with some other ladies enjoying the promenades of a watering-place, to which she had repaired for the summer months, when her husband, who came travelling on foot to pay her a visit, was perceived at a distance by one of the company; and the singularity and unattractiveness of his appearance having affected the sensibilities of his fair beholder, to whom he was, personally, quite unknown, she exclaimed, addressing Mrs. Pestalozzi, ‘*Ah! je vous en prie, Madame, regardez donc, quel monstre!*’ ‘*C’est mon mari, Madame,*’ was Mrs. Pestalozzi’s proud reply.

‘In his diet, Pestalozzi was a pattern of simplicity and mod-

eration ; he took little sleep, and often passed the greater part of the night in writing or dictating ; mostly in a reclining posture, so as to afford rest and ease to his body, while his active mind refused to abandon itself to the arms of slumber. During the day he took much exercise in the open air, a practice which he continued to the most advanced period of his life. In the distribution of his time, and his general habits, he was not only irregular from indulgence, but positively impatient of all order and system. Matters of business he treated, or rather neglected, with the utmost indifference ; and if he ever learned the value of money, or appreciated the means of acquiring it, it was only because the want of it had impeded him repeatedly in the pursuit of the objects dearest to his heart.

‘His temper was cheerful ; his wit ready and pointed, but without sting. His conversation was at all times animated, but most so when he entered into explanations of his views ; his lively gesticulation was then called in to assist his utterance, especially when he spoke French ; which not being familiar to him, he was constantly tormented by a vague consciousness of the inadequacy of his expressions to the ideas which he had in his mind. Such was the affability of his manner, that it was impossible long to feel like a stranger in his presence ; while the native dignity diffused over his whole being, kept even the indiscreet at a respectful distance.

‘He was an affectionate husband, and a kind father. The privations to which his enterprising spirit and his unbusiness-like habits exposed his family, cost him many a pang ; and much of the gloom and bitterness which assailed him at different periods, and especially towards the close of his life, is to be attributed to the struggle of his domestic affections against the generous disinterestedness of his public character. His wedded life, although not one of uninterrupted felicity, was one of love persevering to the end ; and the monument erected over the grave of Mrs. Pestalozzi, under the shade of two fine walnut trees in his garden, became the favorite spot of his lonely musings when he could no longer share with her his secret joys and sorrows. He was less happy as a father ; confirming by his example an observation frequently made, that men eminently successful in the education of youth generally, are not always so in that of their own offspring.’ — pp. 87 – 89.

The general character of Pestalozzi may be easily inferred from the view we have given of the leading events of his life. We perceive the spirit of the man in all his purposes and undertakings. There was nothing mechanical in his plans or wishes ; but it is always Pestalozzi himself that we

see, acting out some strong and original conception, which haunted his mind. Few men have moved more entirely in a path of their own, indebted for so little to the labors or suggestions of others, and enjoying so rarely the sympathy of congenial minds. In his early deprivations and struggles, in the zeal with which he devoted himself to his high vocation, in the prophet-like solemnity with which he denounces the evils and abuses of the times, and in the bright glimpses of a blessed future which passed before his eyes, he reminds us of the stern and lonely preacher of good things to come, who was sent as the voice crying in the wilderness. He seems, when uttering the deep tones of lamentation over the waste places of society and girding himself to go out single-handed against its evils, almost like one conscious of a divine mission and clothed with strength from on high.

The secret of his character, however, we apprehend is to be found in his deep sympathy with human nature, and his lively perception of the abuses under which it had suffered. He entered more fully than most men have thought of doing, into the spirit of our Saviour, when he declared that we are all brethren, and that the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven is he who ministers to his brethren on earth. The sorrows and sufferings of his fellow-men were the occasion of intense suffering to himself; he wept with them as they wept; but, not permitting himself to indulge in the idle luxury of grief, he determined to ascertain the origin of the prevailing social evils, and to devise the means of their relief.

He succeeded in tracing many of these evils to their true source, — in the criminal neglect of the cultivation of the people. Yet he proposed no wild and turbulent schemes of reform. The acuteness of his mind was shown in his seeing so clearly the origin of the evils which he wished to correct; and his good sense, in urging a remedy, no more rapid and violent in its character, than the gradual but thorough education of the great mass of the people, who were involved in ignorance, and exposed to poverty, wretchedness, and crime. His measures were wisely selected, and pursued with indefatigable energy. His whole soul was alive and glowing with the zeal, which his cause inspired.

Nor was his perseverance less remarkable than his zeal. He met with uncommon discouragements through his whole career, — sufficient, we should suppose, to damp the most

resolute spirit. For a long time, no one stood forth to help him. Many derided him as a visionary, and as mad. It was the common fashion to pour contempt on him and his plans. Yet he was not daunted. His spirit never failed. If it faltered for a moment, it was to recover with redoubled energy. In all his embarrassments and trials, in the deepest distress and sorrow, to the flouting skeptic and to the angry foe he could always say,

‘ Yet I argue not
Against Heaven’s hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope ; but still bear up, and steer
Right onward.’

He was supported by his trust in Heaven, and the consciousness that his cause was the cause of God. No temptation could induce him to desert it. All worldly interests were as dust in the balance compared to it. And he lived to see many of his hopes fulfilled ; at least to witness the truth of his favorite plans fully verified.

No man was ever more truly disinterested than Pestalozzi. He literally forgot himself. Every thing within his power was consecrated to the people, whose cause he had embraced. To use his own expression, ‘ in poverty did he share his bread with them, and lived himself like a pauper, that he might teach paupers to live like men.’ His singular disinterestedness was united with a deep and pure vein of religious feeling. He had made too thorough a study of human nature, not to be convinced of its religious capacities and religious destiny ; and he was too full of the spirit of humanity himself, to be destitute of that which he regarded as its essential characteristic. He had no affinity with those superficial reformers who have sometimes proposed splendid schemes for the improvement of the human race, but have omitted, in their calculations, the very element in which the dignity and happiness of the human race consist.

With his great and various excellencies, Pestalozzi certainly had some rare defects. He by no means combined the qualities which form a well-balanced character. His mental structure, if we may so express it, seems to have been left unfinished. He possessed little practical judgment. In the common details of life, it was difficult for him to see things exactly as they are. His fancy often gave a coloring to ob-

jects which did not belong to them. He labored under unhappy inequalities of temper, which, in the latter part of his life especially, impeded his usefulness. He suffered much, also, from his want of skill in affairs. He was unable to carry through the plans, which he formed, according to his own conception. He was entirely destitute of what is called a talent for business. Profound as his knowledge was of the human heart, he was ignorant as a child of the ways of the world. He never succeeded in acquiring a particle of the serpent's wisdom. He perceived the importance of order and economy; he taught them to his pupils; but never could practise them himself. This was at the foundation of many of his perplexities. Though his ideas were striking and original, there was often a singular confusion in them. His written style partakes of this character. He saw very far into the subjects which he contemplated; but was obscure, when called upon to express himself; he was at a loss when obliged to act.

It is stated by his biographer, as we have intimated, that, towards the close of his life, some shades passed over his character. As far as appears, however, these were not sufficient to darken the well-earned reputation of his whole life. It seems that he lost something of the simplicity of his character, and was guilty of a bearing towards his associates, which savored of presumption and vanity. In the conflicts which he endured, it is said, also, that he expressed his doubts as to some parts of his system, which, though afterwards recanted, were considered by his friends and disciples almost as sacrilege towards himself. After all, judging only from the facts stated in this volume, we are inclined to attribute every unpleasant circumstance in Pestalozzi's latter days to the growing weakness of a harassed and weary old age, rather than to any moral infirmity.

The two great distinctions of Pestalozzi's system for the improvement of society are, first, the importance it attaches to the general education of the people, and, secondly, the character of this education as the developement of the whole nature, and not the communication of knowledge to a passive recipient. The principles upon which this system rests, we suppose few among us would now call in question. The public mind, at least in our own country, and, to a great and increasing degree, in England, seems to be so generally impressed with their truth,

that we are apt to forget how much is due to Pestalozzi for bringing them into notice, and urging them upon the attention of the world. Yet when they were first proposed by him, with the simplicity and zeal which always accompany sincere conviction, they were spurned as not only visionary but dangerous. Many foresaw in them, as they thought, in their wisdom, the seeds of revolution, anarchy, and ruin. Others derided them as the weak and worthless speculations of a disordered intellect. He did not taste of death, however, until he saw the signal proofs of their triumph. Even amidst the ruin of his own institutions, he could witness the progress of his principles, gaining strength as they advanced, and going onward conquering and to conquer. It is to the extension of these principles, — which we regard as the great principles of human nature, under whatever form they are displayed, or by whatever name they are called, — that we look for great and beneficial changes in society. It is the spirit of these principles, which we trust will infuse new life into many of the old and decaying institutions of Europe, or supply their place with others better adapted to the wants of the age and the advancement of man.

With respect to the manner of teaching adopted by Pestalozzi, it can be considered only as a return to the dictates of nature and good sense. If it is regarded in the light of those 'short and easy methods,' or 'sure guides' to knowledge, with which some have attempted to pave over a royal road to wisdom, its character is entirely misunderstood. Pestalozzi was not the quack to think of any thing of the kind. He had no idea of the labor-saving machines of modern education, by which learning is to be had without paying the price. The very thing which Pestalozzi had most at heart, was to make the pupil something more than a learned parrot, — to make him a man, a thinking, well-principled, self-directing, independent man. He has, undoubtedly, been successful in defending these views of the objects of education; so much so, indeed, that with many they seem quite common-place; and have even been carried into execution in some instances, where the name of Pestalozzi himself is scarcely known. Still, we think it would be well, if more attention were paid to the philosophy of the system, so that teachers should not flatter themselves that they have caught its spirit, when they only imitate some of its mechanical details. For

much valuable information on this subject, we would refer them to Dr. Biber's volume.

We may add, that it will be found, by general readers, an instructive and interesting piece of biography. Though often desultory and confused, and sometimes displaying a satirical tone almost amounting to bitterness, which seems to us as both useless and in bad taste, upon the whole it does justice to the subject, and shows the ability and right feeling of the author. It contains copious extracts, translated from various works of Pestalozzi, which let us into the secret of his character and views more fully than could have been done by whole volumes of description. We presume that these will be regarded, by many readers, as constituting the most attractive portions of the work.

ART. VIII. — *Inaugural Discourse, delivered before the University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 3, 1831.* By CHARLES FOLLEN, Professor of the German Language and Literature. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown. 1831. 8vo. pp. 28.

THE literature of Germany has, hitherto, received comparatively little attention from the best educated scholars in this country. In this respect, they have followed too closely the bad example of our English brethren. Until within a recent period, the treasures of philosophy, poetry, history, and critical speculation, with which that remarkable literature is filled, have, for the most part, been sealed up from foreign eyes. A few bold adventurers only have preferred to see for themselves, rather than to trust to the casual reports of others.

Our University, for some time past, has made liberal provision for the instruction of its pupils in the more popular modern languages, but has afforded scanty facilities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the German. We suppose that few more able lectures are any where delivered, than the annual courses from the Professor of the French and Spanish languages and literature; but an equally able course, we think, should long since have been given, to satisfy the just claims of the most profound, the most original, and the most various lite-

rature of modern Europe. We are much gratified by the establishment of the Professorship which has given occasion to the present interesting Discourse. We congratulate the friends of the University, and of good learning in general, that the chair of German literature is now filled by a native German, possessing such distinguished qualifications for the office, as the present accomplished Professor.

It is not difficult to assign the reasons which have caused this branch of study to be so much neglected among us. They are the same, to a great degree, with those which have excited strong prejudices against the writings of German scholars in England and France, — principally, a confused idea, taken up with very little or no examination, that they are all given to mysticism, rhapsody, wild and tasteless inventions in poetry, and dark and impenetrable reasonings in metaphysics. In addition to this, the supposed difficulty of mastering the language, we are ashamed to say, has discouraged many from attempting the acquisition of it. This has appeared as a mountain in the way, and, from superficial specimens of the worst parts of German literature, it has been too hastily inferred that it would be labor lost to overcome it. Yet we are sure that this difficulty has been greatly exaggerated. The leisure hours of a young man in college, which are generally devoted to the lighter works of poetry and fiction, or wasted in absolute idleness, are amply sufficient to lay a foundation, which would be of incalculable value to him, in the future years of his literary progress. We speak within bounds, and shall not be contradicted by competent judges, when we say that any person, with a tolerable aptitude for acquiring languages, by giving two hours a day for six or eight months to the German, would gain a sufficient knowledge of it, to enable him to appreciate and enjoy the great masters of its literature.

It is the same with regard to the charge of mysticism and obscurity. It has been vehemently exaggerated. We have made up our opinions from wretched translations of extravagant authors, or from incoherent patches and portions of great systems, which give no better an idea of the magnificent whole, than the fool's brick did of his palace, — and then pronounced a dogmatical sentence of condemnation on the mysticism of German literature, and the obscurity of German philosophy. Thus we often hear a summary and contempt-

uous decision on the merits of Kant, — a writer and reasoner from whom the great questions, which man as an intellectual, accountable, and immortal being will never cease to ask of his own consciousness, have received more light than from any uninspired person, since the brightest days of Grecian philosophy, — which seems to us as fair and well-founded, as the decisions of a ship-master, who knew only enough to work his reckoning, on the astronomy of Sir Isaac Newton. For instance, it is a common thing to compare Kant with Coleridge, and then doom them both to the same dark abyss. Nothing shows more forcibly the blinding influence of a popular prejudice, than to hear this stale conceit from the mouths of men at whose feet we would gladly sit and learn wisdom, and who would be the first to discard it, should they study each of those great writers as they deserve. In truth, without expressing an opinion as to their respective merits, we believe that scarcely two minds could be found, agreeing in important matters of opinion, which are more unlike in character than those of Coleridge and Kant. The general spirit of their philosophy, to be sure, is the same; for they are both the zealous advocates of the great spiritual truths, which are at the foundation of all real morality and religion, and which have been called in question by skeptical and sensual reasoners, from the time of the Greek sophists to that of the French atheists. But in every thing else, as it respects mental peculiarities, they are in almost direct opposition to each other. We see nothing in common between the cool, far-reaching, and austere habits of thought which characterize the German philosopher, and the impassioned, bold, and excursive conceptions of the English poet. The severe logic, the imperturbable patience, the mathematical precision, and the passionless exhibition of the results of pure reason, which distinguish Kant from all other writers on philosophy, are in striking contrast with the moody restlessness, the feverish irritability, the incoherent ramblings, and the bright flashes of imagination playing over the dark obscurity of his page, which, in the writings of Coleridge, mark the philosopher struggling with the poet, and finally yielding the victory.

Still it is said that the German philosophy is obscure. And what great science, we would ask, is not obscure, before its nomenclature is understood, and its definitions studied?

We presume, that to the apprentice in the apothecary's shop, the science of chemistry seems a profound mystery. Yet the discoveries of Lavoisier and Sir Humphrey Davy are true science, not imaginary. We ask, again, if the German writers are more obscure than other writers who have treated the same subjects? Is Kant difficult to be understood? Neither is Aristotle perfectly easy reading. Are Fichte and Schelling mysterious? Plato has been thought to utter nonsense, by the uninitiated. The truth, we imagine, is, that no philosophy which explains, or attempts to explain, the grand mysteries of the universe, to the solution of which man is called by the strong impulses of his nature, can be made intelligible to those who have not a congenial spirit with the writers whom they study. There is a great variety in the intellectual appetites and powers of assimilation. Some minds thrive only on plain matters of fact. Some breathe most freely in the high regions of poetry. Others regard all works of fiction as the devil's inventions. Many eschew mathematics. Few can digest solid metaphysics. Every one has his own gift. And in this infinite diversity of endowments, many will be found destitute of all taste for the philosophy, which unfolds the secrets of their own nature, the deep things of God and of his universe. To such minds we do not recommend German philosophy. They have no use for it. It can do them no good. It is no fault of theirs, it is no disgrace to them, that it cannot. They are made for something else, — it may be, for something better. We hope that they are; but let them not deride every thing out of their own vocation. Others there always have been, there are now, there always will be, to whom the desire of knowing themselves, of fathoming the mysterious life which we are passing, and that still more mysterious life for which we hope, is a perfect passion, an inwrought element of their being. To such minds we do not recommend German philosophy. We need not do it. They will find it out by the strong instinct which leads every creature of God to its appropriate aliment.

German philosophy has also been charged with irreligious tendencies. The author of this Discourse gives the following reply, which we copy with great pleasure, premising only that, in our opinion, after the writings of Degerando, and the public lectures of Royer-Collard, which opened a vigorous attack on the school of materialism, it is not just to name

M. Cousin, eminent as he has since become, as its 'first decided opposer.'

'German philosophy has been accused of a tendency to materialism and skepticism, and of leading to a denial of those spiritual realities which form the foundation of the Christian faith, — the soul of man, and the soul of the universe. "German materialism," and "German skepticism," have been used as by-words in works, which are generally, and in some respects justly, admired. Now the fact is, that in France, the whole school of modern philosophy, from Condillac and the Encyclopedists, down to Cousin, the first decided opposer of this school, consists of advocates of materialism; and in England, the same system was established by Hobbes, and indirectly promoted by Locke, until Hume converted it into absolute skepticism; while the records of German Philosophy, from Leibnitz to Kant and his disciples, Fichte, Schelling, Jacobi, and Fries, do not exhibit the name of a single materialist or absolute skeptic. This remarkable phenomenon is not owing to a want of freedom in expressing opinions different from those laid down in established creeds, supported by government or by public opinion; for, notwithstanding all the arbitrary restraints upon the expression of *political* sentiments in Germany, it is certain that there is no country in which, ever since the reformation of the church, there has been so much liberty in the profession of *philosophical* and *religious* opinions. True, this freedom of sentiment is not owing altogether to a high esteem for the rights of the mind, but in a great measure to a reprehensible indifference on these subjects, favored by the skepticism of some of the rulers, as under the reign of Frederick the Second, of Prussia. But whatever be the cause of this freedom from restraint, in the expression of philosophical and religious opinions, it proves, that this remarkable fact that among all the philosophers of Germany there has not been one materialist, cannot be ascribed to circumstances and institutions of society, but must be found in the very character of German Philosophy. Indeed, if there is any thing individual and characteristic in the literature, particularly the philosophic literature of any nation, that of the Germans is signalized by its loyalty to spiritual truth, as well as by its tendency to universal comprehensiveness. The philosophic tendency of the German mind has had a decided influence upon every department of learning. Examine every branch of science, from the highest to the lowest, from the works on religion and morality to those on the cultivation of the garden, the field, and the forest, and you will find the same scientific method, — the exact

and faithful workmanship of the same spirit that lives disembodied, mourning or rejoicing, sporting or worshipping, in the full and free effusions of German poetry.' — pp. 12 – 14.

Another popular objection to the study of German is the character of its theology. A strong prejudice has been excited against that, as if a German theologian was necessarily an infidel, and a scoffer at religion. Perhaps we need not say that we have no sympathy with German theology as such; but we do think it high time that its real merits were understood. It is by no means true, as many would lead us to think, that it is a bold system of daring speculation and heartless skepticism. Rash and absurd theories, no doubt, have been proposed in Germany; but are we free from such theories ourselves? Do we enjoy a privileged Goshen on which the light of Heaven always falls? Are German theologians the only theologians by whom crude and strange opinions are emitted? Besides, many of their great writers are warm defenders of orthodoxy, — orthodoxy, we must own, in a mitigated form, considerably softened down from the orthodoxy of John Calvin, and the orthodoxy of New England, but yet orthodoxy, as distinguished from Pelagianism, Socinianism, and Deism. There is Tholuck, the young professor at Halle, the rival of Wegscheider, who, though hardly up to the full measure of the Andover creed, is still regarded as a standard-bearer by the learned friends of Calvinism in this country. So too there are others, whom we need not name, sufficient, one would suppose, to wipe off the stain of infidelity, which is said to cleave to the entire mass of German theologians. And between the class which we have mentioned, and the Rational school, as it is called with no great precision or propriety, there is almost every variety of opinion, more or less liberal, embraced by the most eminent and influential men; which shows the folly of classing all the German theologians together as a band of open or disguised deists. Even among those, whose views on the historical facts of our religion are such as approach most nearly to the infidel speculations of the last century, there are none who make war against religion itself, and who do not, in fact, contend for the vital, spiritual truths, which form the essence of the Christian system. We do them as great injustice in confounding them with the profane scoffers, who attempted to cover religion with ridicule and

doubt, in England and France, as is sometimes done to liberal Christians in this country, when they are confounded with the German Rationalists of whom we speak. The following passage from Professor Follen's Discourse, at once confirms the accuracy of our statements, and presents a beautiful tribute to the religious spirit of which his countrymen have been falsely supposed to be destitute.

'The great diversity of opinion which is the natural result of such a state of society, makes it highly important for the student of German literature, particularly of theological works, to be directed in the choice of his studies by a competent guide; but it makes it in the same degree unjust to judge of all, or even a portion of them, by any single production. Besides, I would call to mind again what has been said of German philosophy, that materialism, or unbelief in spiritual realities, is not an indigenous, but a rare, an exotic plant in Germany; so that even those who doubt or reject the historical facts that form the body of Christianity, still embrace its spiritual essence. Though they deny a part of divine truth, they are not infidels or unbelievers as the followers of Hume would be, in case they rejected the historical evidence of our religion. Indeed, such is the state of the public mind, of society, and of education in Germany, that real infidelity, or apostasy from faith itself or the evidence of things not seen, is not likely to occur. The charm of novelty, which in other countries draws numbers after the syren song of modern atheism, does not exist in a country where a general acquaintance with the history of philosophy preserves at least the well educated portion of the community from the allurements of a system of seeming liberty, but of real slavery of the mind. Even the weight of political oppression which has curbed but not broken the German spirit, even the unsatisfactory nature of the external state of society which meets the "sight," seems to urge the mind to "walk by faith" alone; to resolve upon a life of intellectual action and enjoyment, and to seek in the "spirit-land" the substance of the things hoped for, but hoped for in vain under the dark influence of the princes of this world. Every German, whose soul has grown in sight of the bright examples of a high, though sometimes mistaken spirit of self-sacrifice, with which the history of his nation abounds, who has listened to the voices of the living and of the dead speaking to him through their works, feels ever compassed about by a cloud of witnesses to the reality and eternity of the things which are not seen. All the branches of his instruction, though they

seem destined to bear blossoms and fruits only for this life, become so many roots to fix the tree of spiritual life more firmly in the eternal ground of his being. For if faith, or the trust of the spirit in its own essence, is the groundwork, and if love, or a vital interest in perfection, in truth, goodness, and beauty, is the soul of religion, then it may well be said of every one who has enjoyed a German education, that his mind has been nurtured in religion, that in it he has lived and moved and had his very being. He feels as if his great parent, even his own father-land, had presented him early, while yet a child, to the God of his fathers, and obtained for him a blessing with promise, that the Great Spirit who made him in his own image, who gave him this hard earth for his cradle, will guide him also through its wilderness, will feed his starving soul with the bread of life and the cup of salvation, and, when made perfect by suffering and endurance to the end, will raise him again in his own likeness.' — pp. 17, 18.

It would be superfluous for us to recommend the Discourse, of which we have given this slight notice, to the attention of our studious men. It has been extensively read, and has received the testimony of public favor to which it is richly entitled. We hope to see other fruits of the Professorship which the author holds, equally valuable with this Discourse.

ART. IX. — *The Life of John Locke, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals, and Common-Place Books.* By LORD KING. New Edition. With considerable Additions. In two volumes. 8vo. London. 1830.

It is remarkable, considering the distinguished rank which Locke has always held among the great names of England, that so little is known of his personal habits and the incidents of his life. It is not, of course, to be supposed that the life of such a man could abound in adventures; but, according to the true understanding of biography, events are of greater or less importance, in proportion as they throw light upon the character and mind of the person described. Thus in the life of Napoleon, some little incident within the

walls of his palace gives us a better idea of the man, than a full description of Austerlitz or Marengo. We want to know *the man*, before we follow him to the open fields of glory or shame. Lord King has undertaken to supply this defect in the case of Locke; and we are indebted to him for his good intentions, if not for the manner in which he has discharged his trust. With his talents and materials he might have made a more entertaining work; still it is encouraging to our hopes for the human race, to see that a British peer can take an interest in such matters, and knows how to reverence that nobility of mind, which cannot be transmitted by succession, and which derives its patent only from the King of kings.

We consider Locke as one of the best examples of the Christian character; and when we present him as such, we hope we shall not be accused of wandering wide from our subject, if we attempt to correct some wrong impressions concerning that character. The general impression is, that it is meek almost to effeminacy. Men distinguish between the manly and the Christian character; they use the word *man*, as if it were almost the reverse of *Christian*; they understand by a good man something less than a good Christian; that is, they regard goodness, not as the improvement made by religion in human nature, — they look upon it as something which Christianity puts in place of our nature. Thus they keep themselves in the dark as to what Christianity requires them to do. They aim at something which is impossible; they attempt to root out all the feelings which God has planted in their souls, and to plant the tree of life in their stead. The whole process is a thing only done in imagination; it is as much out of the question in reality, as for the surgeon to tear out a diseased heart, and replace it with a new one. But this is not the way with Christianity. That admirable religion takes the human heart as God made it; it takes man as he is. It does not tell him, that, before he begins its duties, he must be something different from what he is; because its whole object is to make him something different from what he is now; not by a sudden change or substitution, but by the gradual change of improvement, to make him a wiser, happier, and better man. When the first man was told to cultivate the garden, he did not begin by cutting down every other tree

that the tree of life might have room to grow and spread ; nor does Christianity make a similar destruction in the heart. So far from destroying the manly character, Christianity aims to give a finish, grace, and perfection to its virtues.

By forgetting or never knowing this truth, that a good Christian is nothing more nor less than a good man, confusion has been brought into morals and reproach cast upon Christianity. Our religion has too often passed for an unmanly faith, — amiable enough, but not strong, — a faith of feelings and raptures, — a faith, which loves better to sit by the fireside counting up its virtues, than to march out to the open ground of active duty. The result has been, that many firm and sagacious men have taken a prejudice against it. If they went to the Scriptures, they would find that all is not Christianity that bears the name ; but they do not go to them ; and they look on this faith with a condescension approaching to scorn. For themselves, they want none of it ; but as they think it may comfort some weak and gentle souls, they will not say a word against it ; it is harmless, and they let it stand. If they would read to ascertain what the faith really is, they would be astonished to find what energy there is in it, and how gloriously it inspired its disciples, apostles, and martyrs. They had more of the oak about them than of the weeping willow ; there were spirits among them as brave and manly as ever led an army's van ; so far from being unmanly, our religion affords in its records the most energetic and practical displays of character ever seen in the world.

There seems to be a mutual misunderstanding between men of the world and Christians. Christians speak of the manly character as if it were something assuming, jealous, and revengeful ; they talk as if manly spirit consisted in asserting one's rights, honor, and independence on all occasions, and in making blood atone for every imaginary insult and wrong. This is not, however, a description of a *man*. The man is collected within himself ; he is not easily persuaded that others *can* injure his feelings or his fame ; he is sure that they cannot reach his soul. The man does not put it in the power of others to insult and wound him ; he feels like despising insults, where others are furious to revenge them. The manly character, as enlightened men of the world understand it, is calm and forbearing, as well as strong and com-

manding. It is, — where it is found genuine, — it is the very character Christianity desires to enlist in its service ; because, furnished with Christian principles and aims, it will move deliberately and surely onward in that improvement which bears the corruptible up to incorruption and the mortal to immortality. Why then do so many preachers misrepresent this character ? why speak of it as if it were made up still of the vices of heathenism, and the follies of chivalry, and never had been changed in the least by the influence of our religion. Can they not see that by so doing they embalm the evil ? They insist upon it that it is manly to avenge insults. This is not true ; but if they insist on saying it, they must not complain if others believe it, and if those who aspire, as the young always do, to be manly, without knowing precisely what it means, should be led by their own teaching to cherish vices for virtues, and shame instead of glory. On the other hand, men of the world mistake the Christian character yet more widely ; they say to themselves, ‘ How timid and abject it is ! how entirely it narrows the mind ! how it prevents all vigorous action ! It would take the man of business, and tell him to spend life in lonely musings ; it would call men home from the ground of action, to cherish feelings and note down emotions ; it would tell the thoughtful man to refrain from all independent research, and never to look beyond the letter.’ In a word, Christianity, as men of the world understand it, is not a very forcible nor intellectual thing ; but, because it is harmless and well-meaning, they pay respect to its institutions, and to the hearts in which it resides.

We would ask, What is the prevailing idea of Jesus Christ ? Do not men conceive him, with a face of delicate and surpassing beauty, with a manner of graceful humility, with an eye that could not kindle, and a brow that could not frown ? Such is the form in which fancy has delighted to paint the Son of God ; forgetting that he had active virtues also, and that this picture, so unlike the Oriental features, conveys not the least impression of his mind or power. We confess that this would be a trifle, did it not show that the character is misunderstood. For where is the energy that kept him in never-weary action ? where is the eye, which never slept till the last duty of the day was done ? where the deep thought which gave birth to his matchless

wisdom? where the wondrous might, by which in the presence of death he kept down the mortal agony, and made the storm in his breast be still? Instead of representing one who was born of the Hebrew race, and exposed to a vertical sun, as pale and delicate, we would even prefer to take literally the prophetic description, and believe that he had no form nor comeliness, — no beauty that they should desire him; but his visage was marred more than any of the children of men by his exposure to the elements and his long acquaintance with grief. We cannot conceive him as bent and yielding; we should look for furrows and weather-stains upon the rock of ages; we should expect to find in his countenance the lines of patient thought, of glowing energy, of strong devotion, of courage which no suffering could break, of a heart which a thousand deaths could not bow. There never was a character, which had more force and firmness than that of Jesus Christ, and doubtless it was seen in his manner and form. The Jews said to him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old'; and from this we may gather that the head which had borne the day's sunshine and the dews of night, bore the marks of manliness, hardship, and exposure. What was it which made the officers sent by the Pharisees, return, without daring to arrest him? What was it which made the soldiers fall to the ground, when he said to them, 'I am he'? What was it, but the majesty with which he confronted the Roman governor, and in reply to the question, 'Art thou a king then?' said, 'Yes, I am a king.'

But we must say what constitutes the manly Christian character. The foremost trait is decision of mind, supported by strength of heart. Religion is an active duty; it is not so contemplative as many suppose; it never retires to meditate, leaving any active duty undone, if it can be done. True, our Saviour retired to meditate and pray; but it was when the night had come, and no man could work, — when the streets of Jerusalem were still, when deep sleep was on every eye, when the mourning for a time forgot their sorrows, and the sick were relieved from their pain; — then it was, that having worked the works of him that sent him all the day, he felt at liberty to spend the night in prayer to God. He never seems to have given time to sacred thought, so long as any thing remained to do; and we fear that the

reason why men are so partial to the contemplative duties of religion, is, that it is pleasant to have the heart engaged in meditation, while it is hard to keep the hands busy in the service of God. But it is true nevertheless, that all depends, not on contemplations, feelings, and resolutions, but deeds. Active duty being thus important, it follows, that the manly trait, decision of mind, is one of the greatest excellences man can possess. Our Saviour himself possessed it in perfection; he was never for a moment at a loss, though surrounded by those who were proposing artful questions and writing down his replies. Though snares were every where spread for him, he walked through the world with confidence and security; and there never was a moment, when any hesitation, any faltering on his part, gave the least advantage to his foes. The reason was, that he had but one star to guide him; he had a single purpose in his breast, which he was determined to accomplish; and that was, to finish the work which was given him to do.

The reason that so many Christians are destitute of this manly decision is, that they have not singleness of heart. They wish to do their duty perhaps, but they have other purposes beside; and, though they walk in the true path, they are perpetually turning to the right and left, to see if they cannot reconcile their fancied interest with their duty. They wish to stretch the lines of duty a little, to help their worldly prosperity, and at the same time would retain their hold upon their eternal welfare. But a man who has not directness of purpose is double-minded, and unstable in all his ways. This is seen in the history of guilt. He who is not ready to be quite abandoned, who is haunted by the lingering remonstrances of his conscience, does not succeed in his crimes; while the wretch who is thoroughly hardened, who has no conscience left to disturb him, thinks of nothing but the accomplishment of his purpose, and becomes a successful and triumphant villain. The same is true of the Christian; let him have a manly, direct, straight-forward purpose, and all difficulties give way before him; but, if he trifles, delays, and falters, asking whether duty requires quite so much, whether he cannot get to heaven on easier terms, he never arrives at the fidelity or blessedness of the Christian.

The other thing essential to the manly Christian character

is, that this decision of mind shall be accompanied with energy of action. Our Saviour exhibited this in every moment of life ; not only did he resolve without hesitation, but he accomplished his purpose as soon as it was formed. Very different this from the usual way of men. They make up their minds that they will do a duty, and then, delighted with this victory over themselves, they sit down as self-satisfied as if it were actually done, and take care to forget that resolving is one thing, and performance quite another. If their conscience upbraids them, they put it off by saying that they will do the duty to-morrow ; and this is precisely the same as saying that they will *not* do it now. They have no reason to think that a day will bring forth any better disposition, any holier energy ; they know that time sweeps away the resolutions as well as the works of man ; it always destroys, and never rebuilds nor repairs. The word *to-morrow* should be blotted from the calendar of life ; it is a *mirage*, which gives encouragement ending in despair.

Nothing can be more powerfully contrasted with the general weakness of mankind in this respect, than the example of our Saviour, and those who were like him. There was nothing violent or stern in his energy. No ; for all great exertions of power are silently made. In the material world, there is no greater power than that which wheels the orbs of heaven in circles so various and vast that they bewilder the mind ; while at the same time, there is no power in the universe so calmly, silently exerted. No one heard his steps as he went about doing good ; no one heard him strive or cry, or raise his voice in the streets. They could only trace his path, by the good he had done ; by hearing the tongue of the dumb, which he had unbound, growing eloquent in his praise ; by seeing the eye, which he had opened, gazing for the first time upon the face of nature, and kindling with admiration and delight. They could trace him, as we trace a stream through the wintry meadow, by the bright green which springs on its borders, while all around it is withered. It was because he obeyed at once the dictates of his heart. When the Pharisees stood before him with an air of conscious power, though the people looked with reverence upon their phylacteries and the broad blue ribbon which marked the chosen among the chosen people, though he knew that they could and would bring him to the cross ; it was his duty to expose

them, and he did it with an energy that made them tremble; and if we bring the scene before us, we imagine him rather with the kingly presence of an archangel than the frail and yielding form with which he is represented. We are told by Pliny, that the ancients had no likeness of Homer, but that they united in ascribing to him features which seemed expressive of his mind. The same has been done with the form and countenance of our Saviour; and the result shows that his character is misunderstood. The truth is, his tenderness derives its beauty from being associated with the grand and melancholy majesty of the priest, the prophet, and the king.

Examples of this decision and energy were found among the Apostles; not rivalling that of their Master, but still highly exalted among men. The life of St. Paul was as striking and adventurous as the imagination ever drew; and wherever he appears, he seems profoundly intent on that high purpose which it was the business and ambition of his life to fulfil. When he stands before the Roman governor, and speaks with fearless energy of the duties and dangers unfolded by Christianity, the man of power trembles before his prisoner. When he stands in the Areopagus, where the towers and temples which he sees beneath him gave him a fearful impression of the greatness of the religion he is about to overthrow, he addresses his venerable hearers with an eloquence bold, fervent, and commanding. When he was in Cesarea, surrounded by those who loved him as their father, and who besought him with tears that he would not expose himself to certain death by going up to Jerusalem, although a prophet seconded their prayers by showing the imprisonment that awaited him there, he said, 'What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? I am ready not only to be bound, but to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.' These are incidents, which no one who has the least power to estimate manly strength of purpose, and religious self-devotion, can read without a glowing heart. One incident shows how manfully he resisted oppression; careless as he was of personal suffering, he made it a matter of duty never to add strength to lawless power by tamely submitting to wrongs. When he had been beaten and imprisoned in Philippi, the magistrates, finding that he was a Roman citizen, sent orders to release him; but he said, 'They have beaten

us, who are Romans, without a trial, and cast us into prison ; and now would they thrust us out in this private manner ? No, indeed ! let them come themselves and conduct us out.' Upon this the magistrates came and humbled themselves before him. Well would it have been for the human race, if every Christian had lifted up his voice as boldly against oppressive and usurping power.

It seems to us, that none but thoughtful minds can ever understand the power of religion. Christians, in general, have very little confidence in it ; the enthusiasts who make light of difficulties, are not encouraged so much by a confidence in religion, as in religious machinery, — an apparatus which they employ for working upon the minds of men, with which Christianity, the power of God, has very little to do. We fear that Christians are not well acquainted with the authority that resides in divine truth, and the marvellous manner in which he who knew what was in man, adapted it to the nature of the mind. If they attempt to console the mourner, they do not resort to Christianity till they have exhausted the common suggestions ; and when they do speak of heaven and immortality, they do it with a timid and hesitating manner, as if they doubted whether it could have any effect. Let a serious person be thrown among those who ridicule subjects which lie near his heart ; if he feels obliged to resist them, he speaks with a blushing cheek and a faltering voice, as if fully persuaded that he should make no impression. So too those who witness gross inhumanity or oppression, when they take courage to speak, tell the offender of the terrors of human law and public opinion. They say nothing of the violated law of God, although, in nine cases out of ten, this is the only way in which the offender can be affected. They ought to know that there is a conscience in every man, which, however stifled, starts up when it hears the call of a friendly voice ; though he may repel and disdain the appeal to his conscience, he feels and remembers it, perhaps to his dying day. Men who have so little confidence in the power of truth, can never thoroughly understand Christianity ; they can never realize the glorious success, which certainly, though silently, follows the most disheartening labors ; and therefore can never find sufficient inducement to exert the manly energy and decision which we regard as among the noblest traits of the Christian.

The discussion into which we have entered, perhaps too largely, prepares us for the subject of this biography. We regard Locke as one of the most distinguished names in Christian history ; and it is a subject of triumph, that the three great names of England, Newton, Milton, and Locke, all sons of light, were fervent and devoted Christians. Where shall we find three other names of equal excellence and glory ?

We are willing to confess that we rejoice in being able to number Milton, Newton, and Locke among Unitarian Christians. None, but the most desperate bigots, will venture to deny this in the case of any one of them. We do not suppose that the fact, that wise and good men believe a doctrine, proves that it is true. The fact, that good men believe it, would not prove any thing ; because their excellence often has but little to do with their speculative opinions. But if the wise, deliberate, and thoughtful, — men who never make up their minds hastily, have embraced a faith, it shows that it is not to be lightly dismissed from the mind ; that it deserves earnest and serious consideration ; for such men are apt to be right, and it is well to see if the arguments which convinced their minds, may not have the same effect upon our own.

The authority of distinguished men forms, not a proof, but a presumption, more or less strong according to the circumstances, that their doctrine is true. We should not allow their authority the same weight against a doctrine, especially if a new and unpopular doctrine. The few rulers of the Jews who believed in Jesus, formed a stronger presumption in favor of his claims, than the many who rejected him, did against them ; because those who believed, knew him best ; and there were personal reasons for rejecting him, which did not weigh on the other side. If a man has strong friends, it is more in his favor, than his having strong enemies is against him ; passion being more likely to influence the hostility of the one, than the attachment of the other. And thus, with respect to a doctrine, the testimony of a few sagacious, wise, and impartial men in its favor, weighs more than the prejudice of thousands against it, inasmuch as it is easier to explain the enmity of the thousand, than the confidence of the few. We would even go so far as to say that the fact that thousands have disbelieved a doctrine, forms but a trifling presumption against it. If you could prove that they had examined the subject impartially and without

passion; that instead of lazily acquiescing in the belief of their fathers, they had nobly searched the Scriptures to learn whether these things were so; and that after honest and solemn deliberation, they had come to the conclusion that the doctrine was not true, then their unbelief might be entitled to some weight. But since we know, that few of those who reject a new doctrine ever take pains to examine it,—that they even prevent others from examining, and raise a clamor in order to prevent investigation; we ascribe unbelief to passion, full as often as to conviction: and in every indifferent matter, the opinion of two or three fair-minded men goes further than the contrary minds of hundreds, most of whom never thought of the matter,—most of whom would be praised to excess by any one who said of them that they have any opinions. We do therefore feel a satisfaction at finding such names as that of the great historian of the human mind, among the open advocates of rational religion; and, if at no other time, certainly we may, when authority is appealed to against us, show that it was held, revered, and loved by men, who, by universal acknowledgment, are among the brightest lights of the world.

The time when Locke came forward was not favorable for his forming rational views of religion, nor in truth any other. The religious feeling of the Puritans had risen to a fanatical excess. So long as it rose in favor of freedom, and vindicated the rights of conscience, it was respectable and caused itself to be respected; but when it reached that point of enthusiasm which borders close upon imposture, it provoked hatred and derision. So long as the power of the state was in the hands of the Puritans,—so long as Cromwell, who had no love for them at heart, felt obliged to favor them as the partisans who had raised him to a place, which, if not the throne, was greater than the throne itself, no man dared to manifest his dislike to their overbearing system. But, as the enthusiast himself, when he finds an opportunity to unbend, goes to excess in his levity, so the English people, when the burden was thrown off, went to an excess of lightness and immorality, a thousand times worse than the superstition it supplanted. Sir William Temple observed that the wits of his own age resembled the fools of David's, in saying that there was no God; a practical atheism prevailed among the high and low. It may often be seen even now,

that those who give up a rigid faith, inasmuch as there is no principle in it, no hold upon the mind, — often become incapable of embracing any other. The simple fact, that, when the gloomy language and manner are gone, they feel as if all were gone, shows that their religion was nothing but a form, which had neither place nor power in the heart. It was so in England in the days of Charles the Second. The great revolutionary storm which swept the melancholy forms of religious devotion away, left no religious principles in their stead existing in the hearts of rulers or people.

In this state of things, we cannot help admiring the calm judgment of Locke and some of the eminent divines of that day. Possessed, as the nation was, with a panic fear of Popery, and stunned, as it had been, with the stormy denunciations of the Presbyterians, it required no common sagacity to discover, and firmness to maintain, the moderate, manly, and liberal views of divine truth, which he and others held and defended. When the high circles in which such men moved, made religion the subject of wit, which, however poor, was admired because it came from courtly lips and pens; and when those, who in common with them bore the name of Christian, were constantly affording food for mirth by absurd doctrines and extravagant pretensions, the strength and genuineness of religious principle were severely tried. We know, from the many controversies in which Locke was engaged, that to publish independent opinions was like sounding a trumpet, which made all prepare for the battle that was to follow; and the fate of the gentle Tillotson, whose life was made wretched by attacks in consequence of his liberality, showed that a man must contend and suffer in order to be free. But Locke, uninfluenced by the prejudice or passion of the day, regarded religion entirely apart from local or temporary considerations. He treated it as a reasonable thing, and thought it a libel on Christianity to say, that men must bow down their minds in senseless idolatry to doctrines which their minds disdained and rejected. It was an affront to God, to say that he required it; and for man to submit to it, was disowning the rights and misusing the powers with which God had invested him. Locke stated the truth on this subject with so much clearness and precision, that future times have found little that could be added to his statements, and nothing that could be taken away.

The connexions of Locke in social life were not such as were likely to aid him in acquitting liberal views of government. He associated much in various ways with statesmen of the court of Charles the Second, who mistook a natural reaction in the national feeling for a settled prejudice in favor of absolute power on the part of the sovereign, and thought the time when the nation was taking rest after its exhaustion and suffering, the most favorable season for putting on its chains anew. He was also intimate with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury, who sustained a part more prominent than honorable in the politics of that day. This singular man, while attached to the court party, advised some of the most arbitrary measures of that reign, such as shutting up the exchequer and issuing writs for new elections without the authority of Parliament. For his subserviency to the royal party, he was appointed Lord Chancellor; and in this high office he disappointed all expectation, by performing its duties with admirable talent and impartiality. Locke's residence in the family of this statesman made him familiar with Halifax, Buckingham, and other distinguished men of the same stamp; but the court favor and attention he received, never seem to have made him less partial to liberal institutions. Ashley afterwards renounced the court party, when he found that it could not carry its points, and became zealous in favor of the liberty of the people. His sudden conversion was ascribed to motives of interest, and his character was not such as to repel the charge; but we do not distinctly see what he was to gain by such recantations. No prophet could then have foretold that the Stuarts would lose their throne so soon; and the people had no reward to give to those who embraced their party. There is no doubt however that his political virtue was easy; and it is yet to be explained, how men who seem to be estimable in the relations of private life, can be wholly unprincipled in public affairs, and at the same time command the respect and attachment of devoted friends. Our own country affords examples of public men, who conduct as if they were merely acting a part and uttering sentiments suited to their assumed characters, without having the least idea that conscience was meant to act upon their public as well as private lives. It is possible that Ashley's conversion to the cause of freedom may have been sincere, and that

Locke may have had an agency in producing it. Certain it is that he was imprisoned in the Tower, and afterwards retreated to Holland where he died. Locke attended him in his exile and disgrace. It was after the death of Shaftsbury, that he replied to William Penn, who offered to procure his pardon from James the Second, 'that he had no need of any pardon, since he had not been guilty of any crime.' We know that he had all the feelings of an Englishman, and that the eye of the exile always turns with fond devotion to his native country. His declining this favor, reminds us of the example of St. Paul, to which we have before adverted, and shows that the principles which he recommended in his works really governed his actions.

It is true that from his father he might have derived liberal ideas on the subject of civil obedience and freedom. His father was an officer in the parliamentary army, and was always spoken of by his son, as an able and conscientious man. Locke particularly approved his father's system of education, the outline of which he has probably given us in his own writings on that subject. This system has not found much favor; but it is perhaps as good as any system can be on such a subject. A system contains general rules, which are to be applied with great discrimination to particular cases. The same course of discipline which one mind requires, might be fatal to another, so that no general rules are of any value, without sagacity and judgment to apply them; and, as those who possess the practical qualifications, pay regard to particular cases, and not to general maxims, systems are generally found to be of but little value. Too much has been said concerning improvements in education and too little done; the word itself is in danger of being brought into contempt by those who have the interests of their race at heart. They expect quick and almost miraculous results in the character of individuals and nations; they suppose that the means of instruction will be more valued, in proportion as they are placed within the reach of all; whereas, to vulgar apprehension, this renders them cheap and common, satisfies curiosity too easily, separates labor and attainment, and sows information broadcast upon intellectual ground not prepared to receive it. We admire the spirit which is now brought to bear on this most important subject; but we fear lest expectations too highly raised, may lead on to disappointment. The life of man is too short to allow him to see the full result of

any great moral impulse given to the world, and some of those who are now most ardent in the great cause of improvement, not meeting with success in their benevolent hopes and wishes, may give over their exertions in despair. The course taken by Locke, was to set down his remarks as they were suggested by his own experience in education ; and his treatise, with but little pretension, contains many excellent maxims ; most of them however are now familiar, though, when he first published them, they were a new and striking improvement on the practice of that day.

It is well known that Locke expressed much dissatisfaction with education as conducted at Oxford when he resided at the University ; but we suspect that he would have felt little delight, could he have foreseen, that all who had smarted under college discipline, would bring his great authority in favor of doing it away. Almost every biographer of lawless genius, has thought it incumbent on him to remind his readers that Milton and Locke were sworn foes to college laws ; intending doubtless to lead to the inference, that great minds cannot submit to restraint and guidance, and do not need them. Unhappily their argument, which is not very forcible at the best, has led many of their younger readers to believe, that, whereas great minds disdain college restraints, whoever disdains such restraints has of course a great and independent mind. We apprehend, that, in a large proportion of cases, those who act upon this maxim, will prove somewhat inferior to Locke and Milton, even though they should be satisfied by the representations of these judicious biographers, that this was actually the way by which those men reached a station, so high and magnificent among the 'prophets old.' By their intuitive discernment, they knew a better way to improvement than colleges and schools could teach them ; but there are few to whom it is given to go beyond their own age, and to anticipate the future. It is a prophetic power, and those who have possessed it, are always named with reverence as if they were subjects of divine inspiration.

The subjects of study which first interested the mind of Locke were not those in which he was afterwards so distinguished ; though, in a mind like his, every thing is converted into improvement. Having a slender constitution, he endeavoured to become acquainted with medical science, so far as to be able to prescribe for his own complaints ; and he suc-

ceeded so well as to receive a high compliment from Dr. Sydenham. When he was at the age of thirty-two, he was still a student preparing for the great efforts of his later life. He was induced to go with Sir William Swan to Germany, but returned the same year, and applied himself with great earnestness to the study of natural philosophy. A year or two afterward, he became acquainted with Lord Ashley, who was so interested in his conversation, that he invited him to reside at his house, which he did for several years, with the exception of a tour to the Continent with the Earl of Northumberland. It is much to Lord Ashley's honor, that he discovered the peculiar talents of Locke, and urged him to give his attention to intellectual and religious subjects. Fortunately for himself and the world, Locke took the advice, and had no reason afterward to repent having listened to the suggestion.

Locke had the opportunity of requiting the kindness of Lord Ashley, not only by fast friendship to himself, but by kindness to his son, a man of infirm health, who was never distinguished for ability, and also to his grandson, who was afterwards celebrated as the author of the 'Characteristics.' Locke seems to have succeeded in giving his pupil large and liberal views on the subject of government and human rights; but he was not equally fortunate with respect to religion; for, — whether infected by the fashion of the day, and thus induced to pass lightly over the subject, we know not, — he was a skeptical writer. It would be very easy to say, that it was love of paradox and seeming independence which made him an unbeliever; but we fear that Christians have been too ready to attribute unworthy motives to those, who are not convinced of the truth of their religion. The evidence which it brings with it is not, and was not meant to be, overwhelming; it was, apparently, the design of Heaven to afford only a sufficient amount of evidence to satisfy every reasonable and impartial mind. Now, many intelligent minds, from their peculiar habits of thought, have brought themselves into such a state that they could not be affected by this measure of evidence; and, because the subject is more important than any other, have required more evidence than they would have thought of demanding in the case of any historical fact or any incident of the day. This, it is true, is neither reasonable nor right; but in such an instance we should regard the unbeliever as an unfortunate rather than a guilty

man; and we think that Christians have shown too much readiness to condemn unbelievers in the mass, as if there were no difference between one who, like Shaftsbury, treated Christianity with respect, while he doubted its truth, and one who, like Gibbon, employed the full power of his bitter irony to expose the religion to hatred and scorn. It is very possible that there are unbelievers who are not far from the kingdom of God, and who feel the influence, and are governed by the maxims, of the religion, though they are not persuaded that it came miraculously from on high. We should never think of placing them on the same level with those, who miss no opportunity of insulting the faith of Jesus, and labor to deprive others of its hopes and consolations. There is no need of anger, however, against them, for Christianity has a self-redeeming power. We have no doubt that whoever reads Gibbon, does, whether he is conscious of it or not, make a distinction in his own mind between Christianity and Christians, feeling, as he reads the follies and crimes of Christians, that they all arose from their disloyalty to their holy religion; and thus, while they turn over the history of the church with contempt and aversion, bear testimony, without knowing it, to the excellence of Christianity.

Locke's great work, the 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' which employed his time and thought for many years, was completed in 1687, while he was still abroad; but was not published till 1689, when the accession of William to the throne rendered it safe for him to live in England. This work is the one upon which his fame will rest, though some of his other writings, to which we shall refer, were equally honorable to him as a philosopher. When it appeared, it received a storm of censure. The University of Oxford used all its influence to bring it into contempt; and though they could make no graver charge against it, than that they could not understand it, they affected to consider it as a dangerous publication. But it rose into authority in spite of all opposition, and ever since he has ruled like a sovereign in this department of mind. Various attempts have been made to dethrone him by later metaphysicians, and on the continent he is spoken of by distinguished philosophers with a bitterness which implies more fear than disdain. The philosophic nobleman, who, in his 'Sardinian Evenings,' so magisterially declared, that 'the contempt of Locke was the

beginning of wisdom,' may yet discover that there is a wisdom which is little better than foolishness, and that it was a sagacity of this description which dictated his own Delphic oracle. But this subject belongs not to our present purpose, which is, to hold up Locke to our readers, as a manly, sagacious, and independent, as well as a pious, humble, and fervent Christian. As a Christian philosopher, his views and feelings were inspiring and exalted. In one of his letters he says, 'Believe me, my friends, to love truth for truth's sake is the principal part of human perfection in this world,'—a noble maxim, which governed him in all his writings and investigations, enabling him to discover truth, where those about him saw it not, and giving him strength to declare it, though he knew that the general voice was against him. There is something affecting in one of his latest letters to a familiar friend, where he says, 'Methinks (but these are often old men's dreams) I see openings to truth, and direct paths leading to it, wherein a little industry would settle one's mind with satisfaction. But this is at the end of my day, when my sun is setting. And though the prospect it has given me, is what I would not for any thing be without, there is so much irresistible truth, consistency, and beauty in it, yet it is for one of your own age to set about it.' These earnest aspirations after truth, as something more than a name, as the object most worthy to engage the best efforts of manhood and the last affections of age,—this fire of the soul, kindled by the inspiration of the Almighty, and burning with a brightness which the chill of age could not extinguish, nor its shadows dim, makes us feel the conviction more forcibly than ever, that there is no death to the soul. It shows us the process by which the corruptible puts on incorruption, and the mortal immortality;—it is an earnest of the eternal path of improvement, in which the just will advance for ever.

The well known 'Letter concerning Toleration' was published in England in 1690, but it was written in Holland several years before, when he was under suspicion of being engaged in Monmouth's rebellion, and was therefore obliged to remain concealed under the protection of his friends. It was written in Latin, and, as soon as it appeared, commanded universal admiration. We cannot easily conceive the importance and value of this work, which, at the time, was not so much

a defence, as a revelation of the principle of Christian charity bearing on religious parties. Now, the principles of toleration are sufficiently understood, though ardent sects have not sufficient conscience to practise them. Now, no man would have the face to defend the abstract right of a powerful sect to oppress a weaker, though excuses and palliations are easily found for every case of persecution. It is true, the disposition is strong as ever, and the bigot moves fiercely up to the point, where public opinion says, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further'; but it is only by making constant efforts to blind the minds of men, that they can prevent the light of Christian truth from breaking in. In that day the case was different; persecution was considered a very natural and justifiable way of manifesting zeal for the truth; and they who suffered under it, no more contested the right, than the savage complains of his enemy for making him endure the tortures which he would have inflicted, had not the battle gone against him. They lamented their misfortune in losing the day, but never thought of complaining of any abuse of power. It is perfectly surprising,—when we consider that toleration is only an application of the great rule of Christianity which requires men to do to others as they would have others do to them, a rule which stands foremost on the sacred page,—that this gross corruption should ever have existed. But so it was; the Catholics persecuted the Protestants while they had the power, and the Protestants, when they became strong, turned upon them with equal vengeance, and exacted blood for blood. The Church of England, while it stood fast, visited all its wrath upon the heads of the Dissenters; and when the revolutionary storm shook down its walls, and made its foundations tremble, the Puritans rushed in, rejoicing that the time of their revenge was come. We could mention some of the noblest names of English history,—men renowned as much for excellent feeling as for intellectual light,—who lent their aid and authority to the punishment of heretics, with a coolness, which shows that they considered our Saviour's saying, that the branch which did not abide in him should be withered and burned, as an actual injunction of duty to those who happened to bear sway in the church of God.

In this Letter, Locke showed the religious world what

they seem hardly to have suspected before, that belief was not a voluntary thing ; that instead of believing whatever doctrines he pleases, a man must believe those which seem to him to carry most evidence with them, — evidence, which the conscientious man looks for in the Scriptures, and which men at large derive by accidental prejudice from authority or example. Moreover, supposing that belief were a matter of choice, and that authority could compel men to embrace the way of truth when they were disposed to wander, there must be some right to interfere, — right derived either from God or man. Man, it is evident, can give no authority except with respect to deeds. Actions are proper subjects of legislation, because the actions of an individual may injure or benefit the society in which he lives ; but his sentiments are his own ; and, as no man possesses, no man can delegate, the right to another, to interfere with the convictions of his fellow-man. It is equally hopeless to attempt to derive this authority from the word of God. There is not a line in it in which he has conveyed to man, church, or party, any dominion over the souls of others ; and whoever assumes it, ought to be more firmly resisted, than the usurper of a throne. And even supposing that this power were given, what power would it be ? There is no power that can reach the soul ; men may crush the body in tortures, or burn it to ashes, if they will, but in this way they cannot affect a single purpose of the heart. They can force the lips to speak, or the hand to sign, a recantation, if they will ; but what value can they attach to a profession, which, if it be necessary to wring it from the lips, is evidently disowned and detested by the heart ? These principles, irresistible as they are, were nevertheless contested by a clergyman of Oxford, who, not daring to meet the argument directly, maintained that compulsion, though it could not make men embrace the truth, could at least make them give it an impartial hearing, and therefore might be properly employed among the means of social improvement and order. Locke replied in a ' Second Letter,' and showed that force was not the most winning way, to induce men to examine any contested subject ; and that, supposing it were, there must be a right to employ it, or it cannot be justly used. The writer again contended that the magistrate had this right by the law of nature, a position too ludicrous to need reply ; but as a great party were ready

to cheer this advocate, and to be convinced by his arguments, however poor, Locke thought it necessary to sum up his reasoning on the subject once more, which he did, in a manner that would have put an end to the strife, had not the claims of the Church of England been involved in the discussion. Though his reasoning is no longer new, it ought to be kept before the public mind; for, even at the present day, there are coarse and violent minds which are disposed to use all the constraint, which the common sense of the world has left them, to extend their own influence under the name of their opinions, — who are growing more desperate as the progress of intelligence obliges them to renounce certain of their most offensive doctrines, — and hope, that by making every church a fortress, from which spiritual thunders may be poured on those who resist them, they may hold the land in bondage for ages yet to come. But they will be disappointed; though an apostle of exclusion has threatened the land with tremendous convulsions, unless they put the yoke upon their necks again. We assure him that he can never effect his purpose, till he can make the sun of righteousness go back fifteen degrees in the sky.

In 1695, Locke rendered another great service to the world by publishing his 'Reasonableness of Christianity.' We have already spoken of the state of religious feeling at that time. The Protestants cried out against the irrational pretensions of the Catholics, but the great mass of them were still Catholics in every thing except the name. They retained the doctrines of grace, as they were called, which were invented by the Catholic, St. Augustine; they insisted upon the trinity as before, and, in place of infallibility, a pretension which it was not decent to maintain after they had said so much against it, they claimed that they never could be in the wrong. We do not mean to say, that the Reformation was unavailing, — it was a noble beginning; but, like sudden conversion, it was nothing more than a beginning of a work which will not be completed till ages have passed away. It is going on at the present day; but, even now, there are Protestant churches which retain much more of the doctrine, spirit, and pretensions of the Catholics of former times, than the Catholics themselves in any enlightened country. And in an age like that of Locke, when the extravagances which had been acted in the name of

Christianity, had rendered the religion itself a subject of suspicion ; when keen, searching, and unfriendly eyes were bent upon it, expecting to see their suspicions confirmed ; when men of rank and fashion treated it with high disdain, and men of better judgment and feeling lamented that it so little resembled the wisdom from above,—it was well that a philosopher of exalted standing should come forward and declare himself a Christian ;—showing, at the same time, that Christianity was as unlike as possible to the repulsive form of godliness which usurped its holy name ; that its purpose was not to oppress nor extinguish, but to employ, enlighten, and exalt the mind of man ; that the Gospel, instead of being a dead letter, was a living, quickening, and prophetic spirit,—a great treasury of all moral science,—a revelation of every thing relating to the nature, powers, hopes, and destinies of man, where every one who imagined himself the discoverer of some great moral truth found that inspiration had anticipated him, and wondered that he had not seen it in the Scriptures, when from his earliest years they had been open before him. By thus representing Christianity as an intellectual subject, and showing that the greatest minds were most deeply impressed with its transcendent greatness, he did much to repair the injury which the folly and ambition of its more ignorant disciples had done. And such is the tendency of faith to degenerate and decay,—such the power of its unworthy believers to expose it to open scorn, that the world needs, that, at least once in an age, some highly gifted mind should step forward,—explain, illustrate, and enforce the religion,—point out its adaptation to the times and to all times,—and show that it is proud to give its strength, affection, and life to the forsaken service of the cross.

Such was the duty which this great man undertook ; and, instead of receiving the gratitude of every friend of Christianity or of man, he was assailed at once in the most abusive manner. Nothing could be done against his reasoning ; but his adversary thought something could be done against his person, by calling him a Socinian,—a resort, which, however unworthy, has often since been practised with some success, as our own region is fully able to declare. We do not comprehend the process of self-degradation by which a man, who calls himself a Christian, stoops to arts so false and

low; but there are those, in every bigoted party, who will break every law of God, sooner than allow the minds of men to throw off their chains. But Locke had noble associates in his warfare; — men to whom human judgment was a very small thing, and who, though prelates in a church which Locke did not favor, received nevertheless their full measure of slander. One was Jeremy Taylor, and the other Bishop Patrick, who says, 'It is the very same thing, to believe that Jesus is the Christ, and to believe that Jesus is the Son of God; this *alone* is the faith which can regenerate a man and put a divine spirit into him.' Happy it is for the church, that in ages of darkness such lights have shined before men. With all such men, of whatever sect or name, Locke was ready to unite heart and hand. His whole object was, by treatises like this, and by his 'Paraphrase of the Epistles,' to extend the spirit and power of Christianity; and he refused to identify himself with any sect, in order that he might join with good men of every sect, in this great and holy endeavour. He repelled the name of Socinian, because it was affixed to him in scorn, and did not express his opinions; and he did not avow his Unitarianism, because he was laboring to prove that such distinctions are not important; and that a belief in Jesus as the Messiah is all the faith required of a Christian. There has been one person hardy enough to infer, against the persuasion of his own age and all that have succeeded, that Locke was not an Unitarian, because he did not, in so many words, assume the name. It was a wretched attempt, and we do not believe that it imposed even on him who made it. The papers of Locke now published by Lord King make it impossible that the attempt should be repeated.

We admire Locke as an example of the manly Christian character; and the union of vast intellectual strength with calm and fervent devotion, so beautifully displayed in his life and writings, shows what our religion is when it resides in a powerful mind and an open heart. In the intercourse of the world, his gentleness was like that of childhood; his object was to make others happy, and while he exerted himself for this purpose, he kept a guard over his manners that he might not give pain by the slightest inattention; for he well knew, that there are many who will do kindnesses to others, but will not regard the little things on which the com-

fort of life depends. But though nothing could exceed his mildness in familiar conversation, which made friends of all who ever knew him, he was firm as a rock on every point of duty, and no fear of slander or injury, nor even of exile or bondage, could induce him to refrain from expressing his convictions, or retract one word which he had deliberately spoken to the world. In these respects, he was tried, and not found wanting; and the cause of civil and religious freedom numbers him among those noble spirits, who, in every age, have put forth their gigantic strength to break the arm of the oppressor and to set the prisoner free. His death, October 28, 1704, was a worthy close to such a life,—it was like the translation of one who had walked with God; he saw that his path was sloping gently downward to the tomb, but his heart did not faint nor his step falter; he kept calmly and steadily onward till he laid himself down to die; and then, with a gentle and willing farewell, he left the world and gave his spirit up to God. We would say, ‘May our end be like his; may we be saved from that excitement of disease, which is so often mistaken for the inspiration of Heaven; may there be strength and clearness in our souls in the closing hour; may our hopes of eternity be bright and fervent, and our faith be mightier than the grave!’

ART. X. — *A Catechism of Natural Theology*. By I. NICHOLS, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Portland. Second Edition, with Additions and Improvements. Boston. William Hyde. 1831. 12mo. pp. 215.

THIS work was much wanted, especially for the higher classes in our Sunday schools, to which Paley's admirable treatise on the same subject is, on many accounts, not fitted. The general style of the latter, it is true, is incomparable, and many of the author's illustrations are among the most striking and beautiful that can be adduced; and of these Dr. Nichols has availed himself freely, and, for the most part, without altering the expression. But Paley committed a serious error in the very outset, considering his work as one to be

put into the hands of the young, by plunging into some of the most abstruse and difficult metaphysical questions in the atheistical controversy; questions for which his readers are not prepared, and questions too, it must be confessed, which he has not treated with much ability, nor even with his accustomed clearness, nor with fairness. Paley, also, as is well known, was not an adept in the natural sciences; in consequence of which, several defects, and a few serious blunders occur in his work, which are but imperfectly corrected and supplied by Paxton's 'Illustrations,' and the excellent notes in the last Boston edition. Dr. Nichols has had this edition before him, and other recent and valuable treatises on the same and kindred subjects, and particularly Dr. Bell's two admirable numbers, in 'The Library of Useful Knowledge,' on Animal Mechanics. With these materials, he has given us a compilation, which, for the learning it displays, and the devotional spirit breathing through its pages, as well as for its literary execution and general appearance, merits a much higher distinction than is commonly awarded to works of this class.

The present edition is a great improvement on the first as regards the mechanical execution. The text has also been enlarged about one seventh part; most of the additions consisting of further and important illustrations, under the different heads, borrowed from comparative anatomy. Many passages, given in the first edition as formal quotations, in consequence of which the work had too much of a patchwork look, are now moulded into the compiler's own style and manner, and condensed. The work, however, still retains, very injudiciously, as it seems to us, the form of a dialogue. This has none of the few advantages belonging to the catechetical mode, properly so called, and at the same time is not made to contribute in any way, so far as we can discern, to the ease and spirit of the discussion.

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